The Philanthropist.

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr., Editor. We are verily guilty concerning our brother . . . . . therefore is this distress come upon us. SAMUEL A. ALLEN, Pr. Jr.

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THE PHILANTHROPIST,

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

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CINCINNATI, OHIO.

SAMUEL HALL, Publishing Agent.

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For the Philanthropist.

"Dull sleep instructs, nor sport vain dreams in vain."

NIGHT THOUGHTS.

In visions of the night
When leaden slumbers o'er the senses stole,
Methought I saw a sight,
Which thrill'd with horror through my inmost soul.

It was of human forms,
Scorching beneath the burning eye of Day:
And passion's fiercer storms
Told, there oppression ruled with iron sway!

They stood in deep phalanx,
Herded together like the very brute!
I gazed upon their ranks,
In sad and fix'd astonishment, and mute.

My heart, oppress with pain—
One groan escaped me from its deepest cells;—
I wake to reason's reign,
It is no fiction—'tis the truth she tells!

Reason, with deep revolt
Starts back to see her noble empire crush'd,
And sweet Humanity
Weeps o'er her faded glory in the dust.

Spirit divine descend
And thy lost image to our world restore;
Till human hearts shall blend,
And sympathy its healing tide shall pour.

MAONA.

Cincinnati, Aug. 26, 1839.

COMMUNICATIONS.

MR. COCHRAN'S SPEECH.—LAW OF RIGHT.

DR. G. BAILEY:—I send you the following address by Mr. W. Cochran, one of the graduates at the last commencement at Oberlin. I can characterize it no better than to say that it is *condensed truth* on the subject of political duty in general, but especially the political duty of Abolitionists. I requested it for publication, as well satisfied that your readers would find much solid instruction in its perusal.

Yours, for the slave,

J. BLANCHARD.

N. B. Mr. Cochran expects to enter the field immediately as an Anti-Slavery Lecturer.

For the Philanthropist.

The Law of Right Paramount to Human Enactments.

OBERLIN C. INSTITUTE, Sept. 10, 1839.

By the law of right I mean the rule in conformity with which moral agents *ought* to act. It is identical with the law of God, which as epitomized by our Saviour, requires us to esteem and treat every being according to his real worth—to enthrone God upon the supreme affections of our heart because he is an impersonation of infinite excellence, and to hold in as high estimation the rights and interests of our neighbors as our own, because they are equally valuable. Its claims extend to our entire being—to the thoughts and intents of the heart, as well as to external actions. By human enactments is meant municipal law, or a rule of civil conduct prescribed by the supreme power in a state. It takes cognizance of external conduct alone, and its main design in its most perfect form is by appropriate sanctions to protect natural rights, and to afford facilities for their exercise. The question which I propose to discuss is not whether municipal law, in securing its objects, may not, under different circumstances, resort to different measures, and enjoin different courses of conduct *consistently* with the law of right. This is freely conceded. But it is, whether it can do any thing *positively inconsistent* with the law of right, that is, enjoin what it prohibits, or prohibit what it enjoins. The simple fact that the law of right is God's law, and by himself declared to be immutable and eternal, ought to decide this question. But it is far otherwise. Many of our politicians deny its being from God, and trample under foot, as a fiction of superstition, every precept which crosses their inclinations; and the great mass though admitting its divine origigin, yet deem it of so yielding and flexible a nature as to bend like the responses of the oracle, to whatever interpretation their notions of *expediency* may demand, and in fact make it the mere slave of human legislation. These facts, while they are a sufficient apology for the discussion of a question already self evident, also make it necessary to establish the paramount authority of the law of right, by arguments, the validity of which does not rest on revelation. This I shall attempt to do.

No one who has at all reflected upon the operations of his own mind can be ignorant of the fact that there are certain truths of invincible belief which rest on no other authority than the simple affirmation of his reason. Certain conditions are necessary to their development, but when their *ultima ratio* is demanded, no other can be given than that the mind is so constituted as to perceive them with absolute assurance of their truth. But, although incapable of direct demonstration, they are more plain and undeniable than any other, because they are the foundation on which all others rest. To deny others you have only to deny the validity of the reasoning on which they are based, but to deny these you must deny the validity of your own faculties, which is to deny the possibility of all knowledge. Such are the axioms and principles of mathematics—such the affirmations that space is infinite, that duration is eternal and that every effect must have a cause. Such also, I unhesitatingly assert, is the affirmation that we *ought to love God with all our powers, and our neighbor as ourself.* An apprehension of the relations which we sustain to God and man is a condition indispensible to its development, but like the truths above referred to, its sole authority and its only ground is our mental constitution. Of course while this remains unchanged, that it should be altered is an absolute impossibility. Its continued affirmation is as necessary as its first. The only means I have of showing that such is the affirmation of reason, is to appeal to consciousness. Does not the law of right, with the characteristic of necessity ascribed to it, exist in your mind? Reverse it if you can. Convince yourself if you can by any process of argumentation whatever, that it is right to take a shilling from your neighbor's pocket. You find it impossible. Make yourself believe if you can, that it is right to take the life and money of your rich, though prodigal neighbor in the stillness of night when no mortal eye beholds you, by assigning as reasons that he is a pest to society—that the money which he is now expending for its injury, you will expend for its benefit, and that your example can never be referred to in justification of the murder of a worthy citizen. Reason proclaims his rights sacred, and conscience from the inner sanctuary of your soul, in the name of God, forbids their violation. On no condition can you convince yourself that it is just to violate the rights of your fellow-men, either the smallest or the greatest; much less the right of God. Interrogate the youngest mind that understands its moral relations and you will get the same decision, nor can you get a different one from any mind on earth, this condition being fulfilled.

It is said in opposition to this that the heathen know nothing about this law, as their conduct clearly demonstrates. To this objection I shall let heathen reply. Says Marcus Antoninus, "he that is well disposed will do every thing dictated by the divinity, a particle or portion of himself, which God has given to each of us—a guide and a rule." Says Aristotle, "the mind of man has a near affinity to God; there is a divine ruler in him." If it be still urged that the great mass are ignorant of it, I answer, it is unquestionably obscure in their minds, from their ignorance of the phenomena of their intelligence, and from their imperfect knowledge of their moral relations: but that it exists in some degree of development, is manifest from the fact that every moral act is by them baptized either *right* or *wrong*. It is farther objected that though the idea of right be universal, there are as many notions of right as there are nations, and almost as many as individuals. To this I reply, that in the application of the principle of the law to specific cases, or in the means deemed necessary to secure what it demands, (which is the office of the understanding, the adaptive, or realizing power) there is, and almost necessarily a great variety of opinion. But in the principle itself, that we ought to regard our neighbor's rights, (I say nothing now of our duty to God, as it is not necessary with the question in debate,) and *intend* his good, in all our conduct towards him, there is an universal agreement. When the real decision of the intelligence was given, who ever blamed himself for intending his neighbor's good, or his neighbor for intending his? Who has not condemned himself for trampling upon his neighbor's rights, and his neighbor for trampling upon his? That man is yet to be found. It is again objected that the law of right is not a necessary affirmation of reason, because many have denied its existence, and their obligations to conform to it, while truths that are really necessary, such as mathematical, cannot be denied. To this I reply, 1st, That had mathematical truths as much crossed the inclinations and passions of men they would unquestionably have been as generally denied. In the nature of the case there is no reason why they should not. The denial of the one involves that office agency or something else essential to our nature; that of the other could no more. 2d, It is in word only and not in the intelligence that it is denied, as is evident from the conduct of those who profess its denial. The man who denies the existence of the external world, will demonstrate by his daily conduct that the belief of it notwithstanding is as permanent as the laws of his being. So with the man who denies the existence of the law of right. He cannot utter a sentence involving the conduct of man towards his fellow without assuming it. The vilest wretch on earth, be he as imbruited as a savage and as malignant as a fiend, when wishing to stigmatize in the highest possible degree his enemy, will charge him with a total want of *justice, truth, honesty*, or something else which this law commands; or impute to him *falsehood, theft, murder* or something else which it prohibits. What more conclusive proof could be given that the law, together with the conviction that it ought to be obeyed, exist in his mind? The fact is, it is as really graven on the nature of man as the law of attraction on the heavenly bodies; and they are not bound by a stronger necessity to whirl through space in obedience to that, than he to enact and impose this upon himself. Attempts he to release himself from its control? Every effort forces upon him the hope-withering conviction that its dominion is absolute, that "*it* sits on no precarious throne, nor borrows leave to be." Strives he to erase it from his mind? He finds it there written by the eternal pen in letters of fire, on leaves as enduring as the tablets of his soul. Would he escape from its presence? If he ascend to heaven, it is there, if he make his bed in hell it is there, if he take the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost part of the sea, even there its claims, as if uttered by the voice of God, thunder in his ears. Alone, or in society, in heaven, earth, or hell, until he lose his "intellectual being," the only alternative left him is to have it for his guardian angel or his avenging fiend. Even God himself without changing our nature could not alter it. Should he tell us that two strait lines could enclose a space, our mental constitution being unchanged, we *must* deny it. So should he enjoin the opposite of the law of right, our reason *must still continue to enact and impose* it. And should he attempt to enforce obedience we would not hesitate to pronounce him an infinite tyrant, and *infinite tyrant* would echo from every point of the moral universe. To attempt it would be to undeify himself, and to kindle in his own bosom an infinite and quenchless hell.

Having now ascertained the nature of the law of right, the question under discussion is already decided. For to suppose that human legislators could set it aside, would be to suppose that they could release man from obligations, from which he cannot even conceive himself to be released—that by will they could abolish a law which neither came into existence nor is continued by will, but arose and continues despite of it: in short, that they could do what Omnipotence itself is inadequate to accomplish—which is absurd.

To render still more obvious this absurdity, I subjoin a few remarks on the nature and design of human government. Its main design, as I have already said, is by appropriate sanctions, to protect human rights. Of course it must presuppose as its *ground*, the law of right, by which they are ascertained and defined. To suppose the opposite, would be to suppose that means were selected to secure an end before it was known. Indeed if this law did not pre-exist as a *rational conception*, (and this is an additional proof of position above taken,) human government never could have been formed; for there would have been nothing in the world of sense, (the only remaining source of knowledge) from which it could have been borrowed. And on this condition to have originated it would be as impossible as to imagine an additional sense, with qualities of matter which it should discover. It creates no rights, but assumes and declares them. It does not make it a duty to regard them, but simply imposes it. It does not make it a crime to violate them, but aims by punishment to prevent it. It is simply a means of securing external compliance with this department of the law of right, and sustains to it the relation of a vicegerent of limited authority, to a monarch of absolute sway, to whom he is accountable for his administration. What then can be more preposterously absurd than to exalt it above that law? It would be wisdom in the comparison to exalt the shadow above the substance which casts it; to make the earth revolve around the moon; or rather, the unnumbered worlds which float through infinite space, revolve around the earth. Let it be done, and Jotham's parable of the thistle and cedar of Lebanon, should no longer move our laughter, nor the silly remark of the clock-maker, that his time-piece regulated the sun.

Let us now suppose the opposite true—that human legislation can set it aside. By this we are to understand that the claims of the law of right, yield to its counter claims, and are no longer obligatory; for surely no legislator, not quite a fiend, admitting its continued claims, would have the heaven-daring effrontery to enjoin a total disregard of them. This would be nothing short of a direct declaration of war on God. If this supposition necessarily involves consequences absurd and contradictory, it must be false, and the proposition which I am endeavoring to establish, true. There is no *tertium quid;* either human government *can* or *cannot* set aside the law of right. What then are the consequences involved? One manifestly is, that the standard of right, left us, is the will of demagogues or despots. For the supposition is, that their enactments however opposite to the claims of God's law, are right. Of course, those claims for the time being cannot be right, unless contradictory can be right at the same time. Nor can they be the standard of right but that by which they have been determined to be wrong; viz. human legislation.

Another consequence is, that every law on the statute book of heaven can be erased, and its direct opposite enacted. For evidently, if human legislators have power to repeal any one part of the divine code, they have power to repeal any other, and consequently every other part: and if God has a single precept of his law left unerased, it must be a matter of grace on their part, and on his of thanksgiving. Nay, farther, should he, impelled by a strong desire for the well-being of his subjects, solicit, on bended knee, the favor of executing his laws, even while urging his suit they could declare them all null and void, and seat the emperor of hell on his vacant throne?

Another consequence is, that all law and all legislation would be brought into contempt, and the bonds of society totally severed. If we could see no other reason for obeying law than the arbitrary will of despots, clearly nothing but force and fear could continue our obedience. The very instant we judged ourselves able to burst the chains confining us, our limbs would be free—the next, perhaps, dripping with the gore of our oppressors, grasping for their fallen sceptre. Soon we must share their fate, and other tyrants mount dubious thrones based on sculls. The elements of society, like those of the volcanoe, would be in unceasing collision, and ever and anon their equilibrium being destroyed break forth in a wide-rolling flood of desolation. The earth itself must become one vast aceldama. These consequences, without adding to the list, show conclusively that the supposition necessitating them is false.

Here one or two objections frequently urged by legislators occur to me, which may yet have some force in many minds. The first I notice, is based on the old adage, "*circumstances alter cases.*" The public good, say they, under different circumstances requires the enactment of different laws. Hence a law, which is at one time right may be wrong at another, and *vice versa*. This objection means one of two things; either that, under different circumstances, laws correspondingly different may be enacted consistently with the law of right which remains in force, or that the law of right itself may be changed. If the former, it is in perfect accordance with what I have already said, and admitted at the outset, if the latter, it has already been refuted; for it has been shown that to alter it, transcends the power of any being in the universe. It is hard to say whether the folly or meanness couched in this objection urged with such seeming honesty, preponderate. By public good, is not meant the aggregated good of all the individuals composing it, but of a *part*, greater or less (in this country) of the whites.

But again, it is said by the legislator willing to justify himself in enacting laws contrary to the plainest principles of the divine law, I have sworn to sustain a constitution which required the enactment of those laws. Conscientious man no doubt! Even those New Testament worthies who bound themselves by an oath to slay Paul, were not more so. But to be serious. The very fact of taking an oath, the substance of which is an appeal to God, and an imprecation of his vengeance upon us in case we do not perform what we pledge, is itself a recognition of his supreme authority, and must imply at least that what we pledge is not inconsistent with his will. If this is not so, it is either solemn mockery or downright blasphemy. For it would be either calling God to witness when we disbelieved in his existence, or disclaimed his authority, and then we might as well call upon Jupiter; or calling him to witness, that do as we may, we are resolved to trample upon his laws. Now the constitution which this legislator bound himself to sustain, is either consistent with the law of God, or it is not. If consistent his oath need not be referred to, to justify him in sustaining it. If inconsistent, his oath to sustain it was an oath to trample deliberately upon the authority of God; and being entirely destitute of what we have just seen, is implied in an oath, it is blasphemy and no oath at all. It is no more sacred than the league of Pandemonium, and instead of justifying or even palliating the crimes pledged in it, by making them deliberate, it enhances their guilt. On the supposition that an oath of this nature is binding, there is not a crime registered on the long and blackened scroll of human depravity, which we cannot obligate ourselves to commit. All that is necessary is to assume satanic audacity, look the Almighty in the face, fearlessly avow our purpose, and set his vengeance at defiance. The man who urges this objection, whether he believes it or not, demonstrates conclusively that he ought not to be entrusted with an office. If he does not, he is a hypocrite and therefore not trustworthy; if he does, he is either too grossly ignorant, or deeply impious to be trusted.

I close with a few remarks—

1. The legislator who deliberately enacts laws contradictory to the law of right, is a sinner with scarce a parallel. He does not merely transgress God's commandments himself and teach men so, but seeks by terrific sanctions to enforce transgression. A vicegerent of God, he renounces his government, and strives to raise in foul revolt the province with which he was entrusted—commands all to arm against the God of heaven. If this be not the climax of iniquity, tell me in what it consists.

2. Laws contradictory to the law of right are as impolitic as they are impious. It is a proposition too plain to be argued, that national prosperity is based on the virtue, liberty, and concord of the citizens. But these can be secured in no other way than by a compliance with the law of right: for what else is virtue either in the absolute sense, or in the popular sense, than an entire or external compliance with this law? and how can liberty exist unless the rights of all are held sacred according to its injunctions? And how can there be concord unless rights are thus regarded? Hence, it must follow, that in so far forth as human laws are coincident with and adapted to secure obedience to the divine law, they are politic, and in so far forth as opposed to it they are impolitic because tending directly to the dissolution of the state. This would be true were there no God in heaven to reward virtue and punish vice. How much more so this being the fact. When a nation has filled the cup of its iniquity, forbearance turns to flaming wrath; He rises from his place, blots out its name from heaven, and commissions his ministers of vengeance—then fall his exterminating thunders, and the stern blast of desolation howls through its ruins. But he is no less mighty to save than to destroy. His attachment to virtue can call forth his almighty energies, as well as his hatred to vice. The nation based on his law stands as firmly as his own eternal throne, and until the elements of destruction be exhausted, until the resources of Omnipotence fail, "no weapon formed against it can prosper."

3. If the enactment of laws contradictory to the law of right be both impious and impolitic, we are under no obligation to obey them, but under obligation infinite to disobey. To obey we must become recreant to virtue, traitors to our country and rebels against God.

4. If it is wrong to enact laws contrary to the law of God, it is equally so to elect legislators, who we know will do it; for *quid facit per alium, facit per se.* We might as well erase God's laws from his statute book with our own hands as to do it through our representatives. But says one, when a number of candidates are proposed, shall we not choose that one who will least curtail human rights? I answer, no, unless you can justly curtail them yourself. Of two declared enemies to the administration of God, choose neither. No other course is consistent with the principles established. And on any other, Belzebub might be chosen were the devil his rival candidate, and the devil himself should be a worse officer. Insist upon a candidate who will go for human rights *in extenso.* If you cast a vote for any other, no matter what political party you please or exalt, you displease God, and debase your country.

PETITIONS.

The time for the assembling of Congress approaches. Under its fostering jurisdiction, Slavery and the slave trade still exist in their most abhorred forms in the District of Columbia, and the territory of Florida. By its special permission, the slave trade between the southern states of the Union, still riots on its human victims, increasing in activity and extent. At its doors, Florida will knock for admission to the Union as a state, with a constitution of government stained with the blood of the slave. Such a constitution has already been adopted by her citizens. A deep game is now playing to effect the annexation of Texas to this Republic—that confederacy of land-robbers and man-mongers—that the slave holding power in the nation may set the rising spirit of liberty at defiance.

The legislatures of most of the free states are about to assemble. The statute books of nearly all of them are disgraced by laws making odious and oppressive distinctions among their citizens based on the hue of their skins. Nearly all of them deny to this class of their inhabitants, when claimed as the absolute property of citizens of remote states, the right of a trial by a jury of their peers to decide upon the validity of this anti-republican and anti-human claim.

These flagrant abuses should be immediately remedied, and these exigencies promptly met by a people jealous of their liberties, and alive to the honor and happiness of their country. Petition and remonstrance to the constituted legislative authorities, is one grand instrumentality for effecting objects so desirable. Annexed to this sheet will be found blank forms of memorials to Congress and the state legislatures, on the various topics above alluded to.

I. *Memorial to Congress.*

1. NUMBER 1 *relates to the District of Columbia.* That is a test question, and upon it we should rally our utmost strength.

2. NUMBER 2 *relates to abolition in Florida.*—It is highly desirable that it should become a free territory. The responsibilities of northern citizens in regard to slavery there, stand on the same basis as in regard to the District. And their interest in this question is no less vital than obvious, when we reflect that the wicked war now waging in Florida, which has cost so much blood and treasure, grew out of an attempt, as base as it was successful, to rob the Indian chief, Osceola, of his wife—she being claimed by a planter as his slave.

3. NUMBER 3 *has reference to the traffic in slaves between the States.* The power of Congress over this traffic is thus set forth in a memorial against the admission of Missouri to the Union, drawn up and signed by Daniel Webster, James T. Austin, and other distinguished constitutional lawyers:—

"Commerce in slaves since 1808, being as much subject to the regulation of Congress as any other commerce, if it should see fit to enact that no slave should ever be sold from one state to another, it is not perceived how its constitutional right to make such provision *could be questioned.*"

The character of this traffic was thus spoken of by Thomas Jefferson Randolph, the nephew of Thomas Jefferson, in the abolition debate in the Virginia legislature, in 1832:

"Is that trade better: is it not worse, than the [foreign] slave-trade—that trade which enlisted the labor of the wise and the good of every creed and clime to abolish it? The [African] trader receives the slave a stranger in aspect, language, and manner, from the merchant who brought him from the interior. But here, sir, individuals, whom the master has known from infancy—whom he has seen sporting in the innocent gambols of childhood,—who have been accustomed to look to him for protection, *he tears from the mother's arms, and sells into a strange country, among a strange people, subject to cruel taskmasters.* In my opinion, sir, IT IS MUCH WORSE!"

Speaking of the extent of this traffic, he said that by it, Eastern Virginia had been "CONVERTED *into one grand* MENAGERIE, *where* MEN *are reared for the market like* OXEN *for the* SHAMBLES."—Within the last few years, the trade has greatly increased, till now, when its victims number one hundred thousand annually.

In Mississippi alone, during the year 1836, slaves were purchased to the amount of ten millions of dollars! The have their deposits and slave factories, like their piratical brethren on the coast of Africa. Private prisons, furnished with all the accursed paraphernalia of gags, fetters, chains, whips, and handcuffs, are fitted up to contain the miserable beings who are thus degraded into mere marketable commodities.

The crowning horror of this abomination, is the fact that the District of Columbia—the capital city of our republic—has been made the great central depot of the traffic in human flesh. The slave trade, carried on by sea and land between the District and the southern ports, is as regularly and systematically conducted as any trade that is driven between New York and Liverpool, or Havre. It has a vast amount of capital invested in *slave ships*, prisons, and *men* and *women*.—Regular and extensive slave dealers reside in the District. Scarcely a newspaper issues from the press of the District, without containing their unblushing advertisements, declaring that they "*are in the market!*"—that the shambles for men and women and children are open day and night, within full view of the Halls of Congress. Their packets, "rigged with curses," and loaded with chained slaves, ply regularly between Alexandria and New Orleans.

Reader! this dreadful traffic in the souls and bodies of Americans, is wholly within the control of Congress, the majority of whose members are elected by the northern States. That body has declared the traffic in foreigners on the high seas and on the coast of Africa, piracy. Is it less piratical to trade in American citizens, in the harbors and on the soil of the United States?

4. NUMBER 4 *is intended to meet the application of Florida for admission to the Union as a* SLAVE STATE. Petitions remonstrating against this, should be ready in season, so that we may not be taken by surprise as in the case of Arkansas. Let us spare no pains to prevent the addition of another baleful, bloody star, to the national banner.

5. NUMBER 5 *relating to* TEXAS, *is of extreme importance.* If that immense slave holding territory, large enough for six or eight States as big as Kentucky, is annexed to the Union, it will probably involve us in a war with Mexico, (if not with foreign powers)—will open a large slave market, and thus give a new spring to slavery in the old States,—will give the slave holding interest a fearful predominance in the nation,—will enable the South to trample down freedom of speech and of the press, the right of petition and of locomotion, the right of organization, and even of prayer for the slaves, under foot, by law, and by constitution; for they may soon have the power (and will they lack inclination?) to alter our United States Constitution to their wishes. And would the North submit to this? We fear the Union will be dissolved, if Texas be annexed to it.

So much for the consequences of the annexation. As to its probabilities of success, we fear the danger was never so great as at this moment. A cautious, plausible scheme is on foot to take the opponents of the measure by surprise. Prompt action will alone save the nation.

6. NUMBER 6 *has reference to our relations with Haiti.* To the deep disgrace of our country, be it said, our authorities have never recognized the independence of the Haitian Republic, although it has been such for more than thirty years, while we have been swift to recognize the nationality of the South American confederacies, and even the bastard republic of Texas. The importance of establishing our commercial relations with Haiti on a firm basis is mirrored forth in these three facts: *first*, that the imports from that country into this exceed in value our imports from Prussia, Sweden and Norway, Denmark and the Danish West Indies, Ireland and Scotland, Holland, Belgium, Dutch West Indies, British West Indies, Spain, Portugal, all Italy, Turkey and the Levant, or any of the South American Republics; *second*, that our present trade with Haiti is greatly embarrassed and subjected to severe discriminating duties, because we refuse to recognize their government: and *third*, but for these impediments our commerce with that country would be greatly increased.

And why is the ruinous policy persisted in?—Because the Hatians are

"—— guilty of a skin
Not colored like our own—!"

II. MEMORIALS TO STATE LEGISLATURES.

1. NUMBER 1 *relates to the trial by jury for citizens in the free States, claimed as fugitive slaves.* Such a law as the memorial asks for is demanded by the plainest principles of justice, and by the United States Constitution. In Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, and New Jersey, the right has already been secured. Let the petition be circulated in the other States.

2. NUMBER 2. *prays for the repeal of all laws which graduate rights and privileges by the hue of the skin.* There is scarcely a State, if indeed one, where such ridiculously vile laws do not stain the statute book. In many of the States, the friends of human rights may wish to circulate memorials for the repeal of these laws, which shall have more speciality and specification than the general form in this sheet. It is desirable that they prepare memorials adapted to their peculiar circumstances.

Need we say more to induce every one to whom this sheet is sent, to commence the work of circulation without delay? It is less than three months till Congress meets. We therefore beseech you to commence obtaining names immediately, and to canvass your town thoroughly. Leave not a person unvisited. Heretofore, the work has commenced too late, and has often been very superficially performed. If each one will do their duty, we can lay A MILLION names on the tables of Congress at its next session. That body is more powerfully moved by large numbers, than by strong arguments. Let them be thoroughly plied.

We earnestly hope you will see that all the towns in your county are supplied with blank petitions. If they are not, we trust you will draft and send copies of the annexed to some suitable persons in each town, who will circulate them, with the request that they will then return them to you. For this service, the slave has no other one to rely upon but yourself.

We have brought forward the different topics in seperate petitions, because some might be willing to petition for one or more objects, who might not be willing to petition for all. Besides, this method will increase the number of signatures.—We suggest, that all the petitions should be circulated at the same time. This will be an economy of labor; and, generally those who would sign one would sign all.

Some have objected to such a variety of forms, because of the labor of circulation, and the great amount of necessary explanation. But, we regard these objections as the greatest benefits of the plan. It brings into the field a new class of laborers who carry our principles home to places and minds that would never be reached by our publications and lectures. If the circulators of memorials are faithful in the discharge of their duties, and answer all the questions, and make all the explanations, they will be among the most important of the agencies employed for the overthrow of slavery. Let them be patient, and take courage.

Permit us to call your attention to certain small, but necessary matters.

1. Cut the petitions apart, and paste each one at the top of a half sheet of paper.

2. Fill the first blank *in the body of the petition*, with the words, "citizens," or "inhabitants," or "legal voters," or "women," &c. &c., as the case may require.

3. Fill the second, *in the body of the petition*, with the name of the city or town, if to a *State Legislature*; and with the city or town, *and the county*, if to *Congress*. The proper method of filling the third blank is obvious.

4. Names should be signed only on one side of the paper. Paste on till it is long enough.

5. Let every one write his own name—and write with ink. Names should not be copied on—it might lead to a suspicion that they were forged.

6. If you wish to circulate the petitions in different towns, or in different parts of the same town, at the same time, copy off the petitions, and circulate.

7. Males and females can sign the same petition, if necessary. If women wish to sign petitions separate from the men, some female can copy the petition, and circulate it—otherwise, they are requested to sign the same petition; but in that case, their names should be kept in separate columns.

8. When the petitions are completed, they can be forwarded from each town to Congress, by mail, (while that body is in session,) directed to some member, accompanied by a letter. (There is no postage to be paid by any one. *Petitions* of any size may be sent to a member of Congress postage free. *Letters* to go free, must not weigh over two ounces.)

They should be forwarded, if possible, so as to be at Washington on the first day of the session (the first Monday of December.) For the first thirty days, the States are called for memorials every day. After that, but once a week; and it being then frequently impossible to get through with the list of the States, the memorials will receive better attention if they are sent during the first thirty days of the session.

9. Petitions to State Legislatures should be forwarded to some member of those bodies, accompanied by a letter, and *postage paid.*

10. The names on each petition to Congress, and to the S. Legislatures, *should be counted*, and the number endorsed in figures at the top, before, it is forwarded. This is important. They may be endorsed thus, "Memorial of 300 legal voters of the town of Litchfield, in the county of Litchfield, and State of Connecticut, praying for the immediate abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia." Of course, the endorsement should be varied as the case requires.

11. If any information is wished on any of the above topics, please direct a letter by mail to Henry B. Stanton, No. 143 Nassau street, New York city, and it shall receive attention. Blank petitions, to any amount, may be had of him.

12. If the individual or Society to whom this is addressed, cannot, on account of some providential hindrance, immediately attend to it, we trust it will be handed to some one who will attend to it without delay. Important matters, requiring such prompt attention, ought not to be neglected.

Finally, fellow citizens: we are aware that this work will require sacrifice of time, case, and money at your hands. But, be encouraged by the consideration, that probably no other human instrumentality has accomplished so much for the abused and despised cause of impartial liberty, as the frequent and persevering presentation of our petitions to the National and State Legislatures.—It has compelled the country to consider and discuss the great question now at issue between Freedom and Slavery. Nor should it be forgotten, that Congress has denied to the slave the right to pray for mercy in his own name: and therefore it behooves us, "bound with him," to come heavy ladden with our memorials, and to thunder with our remonstrances, at the doors of this body, till justice is meted out to him in the name of humanity, and according to the law of the living God.

In behalf of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Respectfully yours,

HENRY B. STANTON, *Cor. Sec.*

New York Sept. 9, 1839.

FORMS OF PETITIONS.

1. *To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:*

The undersigned, of in the State of Respectfully pray your honorable body immediately to abolish slavery, and the slave trade, in the District of Columbia.

2. *To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:*

The undersigned, of in the State of Respectfully pray your honorable body immediately to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the Territory of Florida.

3. *To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:*

The undersigned, of in the State of Respectfully pray your honorable body, so to exercise the Constitutional power vested in ye "to regulate commerce among the several State as entirely to prohibit the Domestic Slave Trad

4. *To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:*

The undersigned, of in the State of Respectfully pray your honorable body, not to admit any new State to this Union, whose Constitution tolerates domestic SLAVERY.

5. *To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:*

The undersigned, of in the State of Respectfully pray your honorable body, promptly to reject all proposals for the annexation of TEXAS to this Union, from whatever source they may come.

6. *To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:*

The undersigned, of in the State of Respectfully pray your honorable body, that the proper measures may be taken for a recognition by the Government of the United States, of the of the Independence of Haiti, and for the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations wit that Republic, on the same footing as with the most favored nations.

1. *To the Honorable, the Legislature of the State of*

The undersigned, of in the County of Respectfully pray your honorable body, immediately to pass a law securing to every human being in this State, a TRIAL BY JURY, in all cases where his or her liberty is in question.

2. *To the Honorable, the Legislature of the State of*

The undersigned, of in the County of Respectfully pray your honorable body, immediately to repeal all laws in this State, which make any distinction among its inhabitants, on account of COLOR.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI:

Tuesday Morning, October 8, 1839.

AUDACIOUS.

The following version of the recent affair at [illegible] is taken from the Maysville Eagle. Ordinary courtesy to the civil authorities of Ohio should have taught the editor the impropriety of [illegible] such an account, unless able to "vouch [illegible]ectness." What more will these slave-[illegible]s have? They demanded the Black Law, and it was passed; and now, because in a single instance it works unfavorably to their claims, they denounce our citizens as mobocrats, charge our judges with corruption, and with brazen audacity justify the violation of the sanctity of our courts of justice.

Riots in Marion co., Ohio.

☞The following article has been handed to us for publication. We know nothing of any of the parties, and of course cannot vouch for its correctness.—*Maysville Eagle.*

ABOLITION—DISGRACEFUL OUTRAGE.

A most disgraceful occurrence took place in Marion county, Ohio, a few days since, the particulars of which are as follows. A negro man having run away from his master, Mr. Van Bibber, of Kanawha, Va., was arrested by his master and others in said county, and was taken before Judge Bowen, who allowed the negro forty days to prove himself free, he having taken the negro's evidence against several gentlemen, who swore to his being a slave of Mr. Van Bibber.(*a*) However, at the expiration of the forty days, Mr. Van Bibber returned with several witnesses, and a bill of sale from Mr. John Lewis, of whom he had purchased the negro.

The trial came on, and was attended by nearly the whole county, anxious spectators of the disgraceful affair;(*b*) when the judge having heard the evidence, which was conclusive to every impartial ear that the negro was a slave,(*c*) he determined not to give a verdict until next day at 8 o'clock, giving the mob, as he well knew, time to congregate. In the mean time, the Quakers of the place having employed every lawyer to defend the negro. However, the Virginians succeeded in obtaining a lawyer, who advised them, should the judge release him as a free man, to take him before a magistrate for a new trial. Accordingly, when the judge decided the negro was free, [a decision the partiality of which should forever stamp him with eternal condemnation,] they took him by the arms and endeavored to secure him, but they were all knocked down by the mob, and most unmercifully beaten; and, to cap the climax, were by the civil authorities lodged in jail. Such proceedings should call forth the indignation of every patriot, for it must eventually end in the most lamentable consequences, if some active means are not taken to stop its progress.

(*a*) All this was according to the letter and spirit of the "Black Law."

(*b*) Why disgraceful? O, it was disgraceful, that gentlemen slaveholders should have to appear before an Ohio court, for kidnapping a resident of our state!

(*c*) It was not conclusive to the court—it was not conclusive to the citizens of Marion—but, it was conclusive to the "*impartial*" ears of Van Bibber, and his partners in crime.

THE MARION SLAVE CASE.

In connection with the above, we will say what we ought to have said, and intended to say, in relation to one part of the proceedings in the case of the colored man, William Mitchell, which took place a few weeks since at Marion in this state. The account states that the decision of Judge Bowen was, that Mitchell was not the slave of the claimants—and that during the subsequent affray and riot, he was persuaded to make his escape, and that he is "now probably beyond their reach."

Mitchell ought not to have left the place. There was no more necessity for it, *after the claim had been decided against*, than for any other of the citizens concerned fleeing the country—unless it be conceded, that our laws are powerless for the protection of those who live under them, when they are attempted to be trampled under foot by a band of insolent ruffians from the slave-states. Mitchell ought to have remained, and he ought to have been protected by the ægis of the law. If he has not returned, he ought to return, and maintain his place as steadily as a king.

One thing more. The decision of any judge or magistrate in favor of liberty is *final*, as it is, when in favor of slavery. There is no provision made for an appeal or writ of error. Should Mitchell ever again be taken on the claim of the same parties, or any other deriving their pretended right through them, since the trial, it will be sufficient for him to plead the judgment once pronounced in his favor. And as the Court adjudicating his case is not *quoad hoc* a Court of Record, it will be sufficient for him to prove the fact of his discharge by Judge Bowen, by oral testimony. We again say, he ought not to have been persuaded to fly—and that he ought to be persuaded to come back.

ONE ABOLITIONIST IN FAVOR OF HENRY CLAY.

The following extract is made from an article in the Painesville Telegraph, edited by an Abolitionist.

"Soon after another gentleman called, and without any threats, and a bold manliness that showed he was not ashamed of his errand, inquired directly if we intended to support Henry Clay, if he should be nominated by the national convention? We answered, unhesitatingly, that if Clay should be fairly nominated as the whig candidate, antagonist of Martin Van Buren, with any prospect of ing the party, we should vote for him, and use our best ions in his behalf; but that we would not support him candidate of any local interest, with which we had ympathy.—We believe he went away satisfied, whether approved our answer or not."

We are at a loss for comment on so strange an avowal. The gentleman, making it, is not a dough-face. So far as we can judge, he is independent and manly, in thought and speech. But, we affirm that he is no *Abolitionist*. He may abhor Slavery, and avow his abhorrence. He may believe in the doctrine of immediate abolition, and declare his belief. He may *speak* against slavery as much as he chooses. Still, so long as he is unwilling to *act* against it, to the extent of his constitutional responsibilities, so long as he is willing to give his sanction to slaveholding, by supporting a slaveholder, and an inveterate enemy to human rights, *he cannot be an Abolitionist*. Henry Clay has avowed his belief that Colonization is not adequate to the removal of slavery, and at the same time declared himself hostile to the emancipation of the slaves on the soil. Of course, he is in favor of perpetual slavery. He has thrown his influence in Kentucky against the advancing tide of liberal sentiment. It is the boast of his slavery-friends, that to him in great part was to be attributed the failure of a convention in that state. In his celebrated speech in Congress on Abolition, and in his late letter to his friends in Nansemond, (Va.,) he stands forth as the antagonist of free principles, and the fully devoted champion of slaveholding interests. If elected president, the world knows, that Henry Clay's power would be exerted to confirm the system of slavery, check the diffusion of anti-slavery sentiment, and sustain in our foreign relations, the pretensions of slaveholders. And yet, for this man, the editor of the Telegraph will vote, and "in his behalf," use "his best exertions!" Our respected contemporary must bear with us, if, while we allow that he is a whole-souled *whig*, we deny his claims to the infinitely more honorable title of an *Abolitionist*.

THE BLACK LAW.

The following from the Painesville Telegraph, speaks for itself. We rejoice that the people of Northern Ohio have so just an appreciation of state-honor, as to fix the brand of reprobation on the *serviles* of last winter.

☞We commend to the attention of all legislators and politicians, those who seek popularity, as well as those with whom the approbation of a good conscience is the desideratum, the fact, that thus far every member of the legislature from the Reserve, who voted for the infamous *black law* of last winter, has been dropped by common consent; while several of those who went against it, are nominated already for re-election. Todd, senator from Trumbull, is the only member of either house from the Reserve, that went for it, who can show his face there again, and he only because he cannot be reached at this election. All parties in this region unite in condemnation of this law. The lesson is a good one for all truckling politicians.

POLITICAL ACTION.

Abolitionists on the Reserve are quite united on the subject of political action. We have most cheering news from that quarter. In most of the counties such candidates are put up as Abolitionists can consistently vote for. A correspondent writing to us, date Sept. 25th, says—"The Abolitionists in Ashtabula and Geauga, are determined, if Wade is cast off for a pro-slavery man, that they will run him on their own hook, and if they do, they will elect him, as many Whigs of Ashtabula who are not Abolitionists, will vote for him."

We canot withhold our approbation from the course of the Ohio Star, in relation to election matters. It has evinced a praiseworthy anxiety to preserve the Abolition voters of its party from imposition, and its counsel has doubtless had a beneficial influence. Although a Whig paper, it came out boldly a week or two since, announced the requirements of Abolitionists, and maintained their reasonableness. We hope our friends in Portage county will see to it, that a party-paper which thus dares to be independent, shall not fail for want of vigorous support.

We wish our friend of the Painesville Telegraph had found it in his heart to adopt a similar tone. He claims to be an Abolitionist, but it really seems to us indefensible, that he should subordinate Abolitionism to his party-preferences. We do not blame him for being a Whig, but we do blame him because he does not demand of his party a strict and uniform regard for the fundamental principles of civil liberty. That the grounds of our complaint may not be mistaken, we copy his remarks, made on the following resolution, passed at the Western Reserve Convention held at Painesville.

Resolved, That Abolitionists ought not, and that *we will not* vote for any man, for any legislative, or executive office, who is not heartily opposed to SLAVERY, and who will not openly meet and honestly sustain all constitutional measures calculated immediately to restore to the oppressed their rights.

The Telegraph remarks—

As this resolution will be exceedingly grievous to our locofoco friends round about, who are so fearful that the whig party will be divided at the polls, we take the liberty to make a remark or two concerning it. There is a wide difference of opinion among those who call themselves and consider themselves abolitionists, concerning the proper rule of political action to be adopted at this time. There was even a difference of opinion in the convention:—although it is not strange that a body composed of "ultra" abolitionists—not in any offensive sense, but meaning those who have detached themselves from other parties for the sake of abolition—should pass a resolution like the above with but little opposition.—There are other abolitionists, however—and we believe they compose the great body of those who are attached to the political parties of the day—who will judge for themselves when and how they should vote, in reference to that *and all other interests* in which their feelings are enlisted. There are many abolitionists who are not *mere abolitionists*, and who will not at present vote with reference to that question alone. Such we believe to be a vast majority of the whole. The propriety of such a course we have not now time to discuss.

All this was equivalent to a license to party leaders to do whatsoever might please them. Its meaning was,—do what you choose—nominate just the men you like, whether they be hostile to Abolition or not—Abolitionists are too independent to be bound by the resolutions of conventions,—true, they think much of Abolitionism, but tenfold more of Whigism. This was the plain meaning of the Telegraph's comments; and what followed? As an Abolitionist the editor was understood to speak the sentiments of his brethren, and so the Whig party, says the correspondent referred to above, "in Geauga county have brought forward men that are on the fence."

THE PAINESVILLE RESOLUTION.

'*Resolved*, That Abolitionists ought not, and that *we will not* vote for any man, for any legislative, or executive office, who is not heartily opposed to SLAVERY; and who will not openly meet and honestly sustain all constitutional measures calculated immediately to restore to the oppressed their rights.'

"The above resolution was passed at a recent Anti-Slavery meeting at Painesville. We leave it with this remark. Whigs who would support or act upon such a resolution, are willing to enslave themselves to an ambitious Executive, in whose hands they would place the sword and the purse, together with his present almost irresistible patronage, barely to elect a man to an *executive* office, who can officially do absolutely nothing towards effecting the object. They would barter their dearest rights, for less than 'a mess of pottage.'

Let Martin Van Buren carry out his schemes of selfishness and he can sustain, aye, *create* slavery, by the mere force of an executive *ukase*.

Are they willing to become the slaves of power themselves, through a mere desire to show their recognition of principles, when there is nothing in the act to advance those principles in the least?"

The foregoing is from the Conneaut Gazette, a Whig paper, opposed to slavery. The editor is one of that class of anti-slavery politicians, who are unwilling to *do* any thing to purge out from their party, the leaven of pro-slavery. They *hate* Slavery, but they *abhor* Van Burenism. They would be *pleased* to see the colored man restored to his rights; they would *exult* to see their political opponents despoiled of their power. With them, it is an object of more moment to keep out of office a sub-treasury man, than the owner of sixty head of human cattle.

Does the editor of the Gazette consider the predicament in which he places himself by opposing the Painesville resolution? The resolution affirms, that Abolitionists "ought *not* to vote for any man for any legislative or executive office, who is not heartily opposed to *Slavery*, and who will not openly meet and honestly sustain all constitutional measures calculated immediately to restore to the oppressed their rights." The Gazette, by opposing this resolution, says virtually, that the honest men of the country *ought* to give their suffrages to candidates who may suit them in other respects, even though they should be in *favor of slavery*, and *hostile* to any measures calculated to "restore the oppressed to their rights!" The broad question of human rights is then a minor consideration with the Gazette; and in this republic, based on the doctrine of natural rights, deriving its existence from a revolution which appealed for its justification to the doctrine of natural rights, it is at length discovered, that it is entirely unimportant, whether our law makers and executive officers believe in this great doctrine or not!

The Gazette says, that Whigs who would support such a resolution, "are willing to enslave themselves to an ambitious executive," "barely to elect a man to an executive office, who can officially do absolutely nothing towards effecting the object." And yet, in the next paragraph he says—

"Let Martin Van Buren carry out his schemes of selfishness, and he can sustain, aye, *create*, slavery, by the mere force of an executive ukase."

How happens it, that the election of a man to the *Executive*, can so little concern human rights, when the same Executive "can sustain, aye, *create* slavery by the mere force of an executive *ukase*?"

The truth is, the Executive can do a vast deal for, or against, slavery. By its appointing power, its patronage, its thousand agents throughout the Union, its influence on the press, its diplomacy, it can exert vast influence, for, or against, the slaveholding interest; so that the man is inexcusable, who uses his influence to elevate to this office, a slaveholder, or friend of slavery. Such conduct brands him as an enemy to freedom.

The resolution of the Painesville convention commends itself to the common sense of every true American. What business has any man to hold office under a free government, who is not heartily a foe to slavery, and a friend to every constitutional measure calculated to effect its immediate extinction?

THE WESTERN RESERVE.

It gratifies us to learn that our friends on the Reserve generally, concur in the views we recently expressed with regard to the true basis of political action. A correspondent writing from Trumbull county, says:—

"Most of the thinking friends say that you are on the right principle in relation to political action, and hope you will stick to and defend it. I think you will find the abolitionists of Ohio nearly unanimous in this, and if the doctrine is now properly illustrated, and defended, they will remain so. The people of this state have too much good sense to take ground, which correct principles do not cover, or it is needless to occupy."

The Xenia Free Press is also pleased to coincide with us in opinion. The Painesville resolution, quoted in another part of this paper, embraces, as we think, the true principle. Also in Lorain and Portage counties the Albany resolution has failed to obtain support. The following report of the Lorain county meeting we find in the Oberlin Evangelist.

"ANTI-SLAVERY.—On Commencement evening, the Lorain County Anti-Slavery Society met by adjournment at Oberlin. The meeting was large, probably more than one thousand people were in attendance. Mr. C. C. Burleigh, of Pennsylvania, addressed the Society for an hour and a half in his usual impressive manner, on the practical duties of abolitionists. After the address the following resolutions were passed, first by the Society, and then by the entire congregation, no one voting in the negative in either case.—We hope no abolitionist will forget the principle of these resolutions in the excitement of the political campaign just now commenced. Let them abide firm, and the disgraceful "black law" of Ohio will be repealed at the coming session of the legislature.

Resolved, That we will not vote for any man for President or Vice President of the U. States, or for Congress, who is not in favor of the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the U. S. Territories, and of the abolition of the internal slave-trade, and who is not opposed to the admission of new slave states into the union.

Resolved, That we will not support any man for the Legislature of the state of Ohio who is not in favor of the repeal of all laws of said state which are founded on a distinction of color."

Such resolutions can be defended.

An attempt was made to re-pass the Albany resolution at the meeting of the Portage county society, but it failed.

The Clinton county society at its late meeting, also sanctioned the principles we have advocated.

We note these facts, not for the sake of getting up a controversy on the subject, but that our Eastern friends may be apprised of the decision of Ohio Abolitionists on the resolution so often alluded to.

It may be proper to remark, that the refusal to concur with the views of the Albany Convention, has not been accompanied by any relaxation of effort in a political way on the part of abolitionists. On the contrary, we think, that among our friends in this state, there is a more general and inflexible determination than ever, to carry their principles to the ballot-box. It would seem, that having discovered a ground on which they can stand and vindicate their conduct by reasons drawn from their individual responsibilities, they are prepared henceforth for consistent, united, and vigorous action.

HAMILTON COUNTY.

The Democrats of this county met in season and agreed on their ticket. An opposition-ticket was not got up until it was too late to question the candidates. It would have been useless to question the democratic candidates. *J. J. Farran*, who in his character as representative for the last two years, has shown an utter contempt for human rights and their advocates; who, in every question where slavery was involved, has uniformly stood on the side of the oppressor; who, it need scarcely be added, gave his cordial support to the *Black law*, is nominated for the Senate. The two candidates on the same ticket for the lower House, we doubt not, will do any thing the slaveholder wishes. As to the opposition ticket, we have but a word to say. We do not recognize on it the name of a single candidate for the legislature, who is entitled to the confidence of abolitionists. We hope our friends will scatter their votes. Surely no man, be he abolitionist or not, let him concur with us or not as it regards the propriety of political action, if he have the smallest respect for humanity or state-honor, will vote for *J. J. Farran*.

UNKIND.

A friend wites to us respecting our opposition to the Albany resolution.

"Last year I and every body admired your noble independence on the subject of political action; also, the merited rebukes which you cast on the —— and the ——. But, I cannot help but fear that some subtle influence has made you unduly in favor of Harrisonism."

What a pity, that a man cannot express opinions, without being charged by one who differs from him, with being biassed by some subtle influences. We hold this year, precisely the same opinions we held last. Our course this year on political action is precisely what it was last. It is the Albany Convention that has taken *new* ground, not we; and now, because we differ with that body, we are corrupted by "*Harrisonism!*"

Let us say, for the satisfaction of our respected friend, that in all that we have ever written on the subject of political action, we have never had the slightest reference, in any shape, to the success of either of the political parties of our country.—On this subject we have always felt and spoken, simply and exclusively as an abolitionist.

SLAVE-HOLDING RIOT AT MARION.

We have seen statements concerning the Marion slave-case like the following, in two of our exchanges.

'The conduct of the Virginians is said to have been violent and outrageous in the extreme. They were arrested, tried, and convicted of a contempt of Court, and fined $15 each; but the fine was remitted on their paying costs. Several others concerned in the riot, were bound over for resisting the Sheriff, but it is said they will not be prosecuted further, as they disclaimed any intention of resisting the law, or committing an illegal act."

Can this be true? Have these kidnappers escaped so easily? Is it possible that a Court of Justice could thus invite insult, and license the most infamous outrages, by clemency so ill-timed and criminal?

THE CHARLESTON MERCURY says that it has received through the P. O. a pamphlet on Slavery and Abolition, written by Mr. Fitzgerald, a member of the New Haven bar, in answer to various attacks made on him by the *tolerant* clergy of the abolition school. The Mercury thinks it the most conclusive argument on the subject it has ever seen, and remarks—"Upon those abolitionists who are atheists, it will of course produce no effect, and the great body of that amiable fraternity will therefore remain untouched by it; but such as are Christians, must either cease to be so, or give up their warfare on the South." The object of the pamphlet is to prove, that slavery is recognized, established and approved in the Bible.

This is the first we have heard of this powerful production. We wonder it has escaped the vigilance of our Eastern friends. The New Haven lawyer must be about transferring his quarters to the South, and so thinks it advisable to send a peace-offering before him.

MR. CLAY AS A SLAVEHOLDER.—When Mr. Clay visited Canada a few weeks ago, he took with him his servant man Charles, who, we believe, was born in his service, and has attended upon him for many years. At Montreal, we believe it was, some of the subjects of her Britannic Majesty approached Charles with assurances that he was as free in Canada as Mr. Clay, and that he could now leave him without the least fear of being compelled again into his service. For some time Charles listened to these suggestions with silent disregard—but, as they were pertinaciously pressed upon him, he at length put a stop to the entreaties of his philanthrapic friends, by telling them that he was as well aware as they were of the ease with which he could now gain his freedom; but that, in fact, in the service of Mr. Clay, he had as much liberty as he needed or desired; that he preferred to remain with him, and that, in short, *he would not leave him for both the Canadas*. We heard the anecdote from an authentic source, and we give all credit to it. The attachment of Charles to his kind and illustrious master has many parallels all over the Southern country, and was still more common before the pestilent abolitionists commenced their systematic schemes of sowing distrust between the races whom an overruling necessity has placed towards each other in the relation of master and slave.—*Baltimore Chronicle.*

Such is the story which is going the rounds of the servile press at the North. A little while ago, it was Mr. Preston, the slaveholder, who gave a donation of $1000 to the Methodist church. O, the generosity of slaveholding! Now, it is Mr. Clay, who owns a slave that won't run off. O, the winning humanity of slaveholding! It is just the thing our northern dough-faces desire. Lacking brains for argument, they jump at pleasant stories, in behalf of slavery. What does the free-state press mean by retailing such accounts, if it be not to glorify the slaveholder, and recommend slavery in the eyes of Northern people, as a system friendly to human happiness and virtue. The last paper in which we saw the tale, is the Ohio Confederate and Old School Republican of Columbus, a paper laying claims to unadulterated, high-toned democracy. It is perfectly in accordance with the spirit of American democracy, that the editor should give his influence in favor of slavery. Democracy and slavery are twin sisters in our country. How is it possible, that an editor professing to understand and love the principles of civil liberty, should not have been struck with horror at the dreadful degradation of the slave, who could thus kiss the hand that had annihilated his manhood?

SOUND DOCTRINE AMONG SLAVEHOLDERS.

"The Administration has struck at the first principle of liberty, which is the first principle of industry—*that the fruits of a man's labor shall be his own.* This principle is the great nerve to labor, and by it the poor are encouraged to rise to independence and comfort."

The foregoing is an extract from an address put forth by a meeting of the Whig citizens of Edgecomb co. North Carolina.

"Seeing they see, and do not perceive." Out of their own mouths are they condemned.

GOOD.—During the offerings on the occasion of the Centenary meeting, at Cokesbury some weeks ago, one said—"I give one hundred dollars; fifty for myself and white family, and fifty for MY *negroes*, for I want them to go to heaven too." Another who had just contributed the liberal sum of two hundred dollars, immediately rose and said—"I am struck with my brother's remark about HIS *negroes*. I have not done enough. Set down fifty dollars for MY *negroes* also. Brethren, it is not repaying the Lord; it is only a mite of the interest of what I owe."—*Southern Christian Advocate.*

Slaveholders are not the only *religious criminals* in the world. The Thugs or Phansigars, a class of men in the East Indies, associated together as murderers, are as devout every whit, as the holder of slaves. Murder is with them a regular profession. They first kill, and then rob. For about two centuries they have carried on their operations in the East, and it is only within a late period, that their villany has been brought to light. They initiate their children into all the secrets of their dreadful profession; so that from infancy they are taught that it is a part of their religion to murder and rob. They are scrupulous in consulting omens, making sacrifices, and asking the blessing of their deity on their devilish expeditions. Their trade of blood they justify as holy. Favorable omens they regard as mandates from their deity to kill. They meditate murder without misgiving, perpetrate it without horror, reflect on it without compunction. Their pleasure indeed is proportioned to the number they have strangled. In all this, they are deeply religious; and in the ordinary relations of life, in all other respects, they are said to be amiable, respectable, and honorable.*

But, their good character generally, and their deep devotion to their gods, and the sense of duty which impels them to murder, do not change the nature of their violent acts. These are still murder and robbery. So, the amiable character of the slaveholder, and the religious zeal with which he devotes to the Lord two hundred dollars for *his* negroes, cannot make his evil, good—cannot save him from the guilt of upholding a system of wholesale robbery.

*"No men observe more strictly in domestic life all that is enjoined by their party, or demanded by their respective castes; nor do any men cultivate with more care, the esteem of their neighbors, or court with more assiduity the good will of all constituted local authorities. In short, to men who do not know them, the principal members of these associations will always appear to be among the most respectable, and most intelligent members of the lower, and sometimes the middle and higher classes of native society; and it is by no means to be inferred, that every man who attempts to screen them from justice, knows them to be murderers." *The Thugs or Phansigars of India.*

ANOTHER MOB IN CINCINNATI.

Our city has recently been disgraced by another riotous act of violence, perpetrated by a ruthless mob, headed by some 20 or 30 masked villains, who, conscious of the nefarious character of their enterprize, were fain to operate in disguise. The wretch against whom they were exasperated, is justly entitled to the rigorous penalties of the law, having for a long time practised his impostures as a physician, until he had grown measurably rich by his murderous deceptions, and had erected a splendid edifice by the gains derived from the gullibility of our citizens of all grades. All this might have been tolerated, perhaps; but when he exercised his brutality on the unhappy females placed, as maniacs, under his professional care; it is not surprising that public indignation was aroused. Still, nothing, certainly, could justify a resort to *Lynch-law*, even in his case, since legal measures had been instituted in order to bring the offender to justice, which would doubtless have been meted out to him with an unsparing hand, while few, if any, would have shown him pity. But, where is such high-handed defiance of law to stop? Who among us can promise himself security? These are questions that concern us individually, and should be brought to our own bosoms and firesides.

It is high time for some public expression of disapprobation—might I not say, horror—of such lawless proceedings. It behooves those in authority to take prompt and impartial measures to discover the leaders in the late riot, and whether they be "respectable," or otherwise, to inflict on them condign punishment. A CITIZEN.

The act of violence reprehended by "A Citizen" was as dastardly as it was wicked. It is well known, that there are several *white* quacks in this city, whose practices have been as injurious to the community, in all probability, as those of the Black Doctor. Besides, they are more inexcusable, as they are better informed. Why not mob them, destroy their furniture, and pull down their houses? No—these chivalrous knights of darkness always select the weakest in the community, as the objects of their wrath. They never strike where there is risk. Where were our peace-officers—where our city watch, when this disgraceful act was perpetrated?

As for the impostor, he had committed a brutal act, he had offended against the law, and by the law he would have been punished, with well merited severity. But what punishment can be too severe for that audacity, which treats law as if it *were not*, and bids its administrators stand aside, until it wreaks its infernal vengeance on the criminal!

THE OHIO ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

We have little further to record of the doings of this body in relation to abolition. It seems, however, that when too late, the abolitionists regretted their determination not to show themselves on the New England resolutions. Twenty of them subsequently recorded their names in the negative, on the motion for non-concurrence. In one respect, the Conference deserves credit: it invited free and full discussion on the resolutions. The invitation should have been accepted by the abolitionists; for a fair opportunity was thereby afforded them to make that body correctly acquainted with the merits of the anti-slavery question.

At one of the sessions of the Conference, while the examination of ministerial character was going on, an objection was made to the Rev. Mr. Newson, for mal-administration. Mr. Newson, we believe, was preacher in charge, during the last year, of the Parkersburg (Va.) station. It seems that one of his members had sold a number of slaves, in direct violation of the General Rule, which prohibits the buying or selling of slaves. The preacher, instead of proceeding against him, as for any other immorality, *simply reproved him*, classing the act, we are told, with such minor offences, as an outbreak of temper, wearing gay apparel, &c.

Objection having consequently been made to his character, for not enforcing the discipline against the slave-seller, his case was referred to a committee. On the following day, W. Burke, from the committee, reported, that they had failed in two attempts to obtain a quorum, and that succeeding in the third attempt, the objector had not appeared.—They accordingly reported nothing against Mr. Newson's character. The Conference immediately passed it.

We learned subsequently from unquestionable authority, that the objector, not having been notified at any time by the committee of their meetings, ascertained from other sources, *when* and *where* they were to meet; that he had been present at the two meetings, when no quorum could be had; and that owing to the distance of his boarding-house from the place of the third meeting, and the lateness of the hour at which the family dined, he had not been able to be punctual at the time appointed. Still, he had appeared *only a few minutes too late*, when he found that the committee had risen!

The whole circumstance shows how lightly the Conference is disposed to regard the sin of slavery, and how willing it is to connive at violations of the anti-slavery part of its discipline.

INTOLERANCE.—We are informed, on good authority, that the session of the 2nd Presbyterian church, has passed a resolution, prohibiting notices of anti-slavery meetings to be read by their pastor. Such intolerance is eminently disgraceful. Nothing but a determined friendship for slavery could have originated this resolution. Can it be possible that Dr. Beecher submits patiently to the restriction? Surely, he must *now* see, the necessity of exposing to his congregation the sin of slavery. Its power has already defiled his church, and shall we not say it?—tied him, hand and foot.

In accordance with the above resolution, the Rev. Mr. Biggs refused, last sabbath, to read a notice of an address to be delivered by Mr. Birney on the following Tuesday evening.

As contrasting with this shameful illiberality, we may remark, that similar notices were read in the two principal Methodist Episcopal churches of this place. We are the more pleased with this, for hitherto, we believe, a different course has been pursued in the Methodist churches of Cincinnati.

We know but one other church in this city, which has forbidden its pastor to read anti-slavery notices;—*the 9th st. Baptist* church, the pastor of which is the Rev. MR. LYND. We doubt not, that the decision of the session in this case is in harmony with the desire of the pastor.

The conduct of a majority of the churches and ministers of Cincinnati on the slavery-question, will constitute a curious problem for posterity to solve. Yet a little while, and if they be found persisting in their dastardly silence on the heaven-daring sin of slavery, their influence will be annihilated, and their names justly held in abhorrence. What kind of a heart, can that man have, who living in the constant contemplation of divine truth, and solemnly dedicated to the highest interests of his race, finds no voice to plead for the divine law trampled in the dust, and for myriads of his fellow-creatures, crushed beneath one of the most bloody systems of oppression that have ever disgraced and destroyed *humanity*. Surely *religious* men, when found persisting in a *wrong* course, surpass all other sinners in wickedness.

While we thus speak of the majority of ministers in this city, let us do honor to the Cincinnati Presbytery. The course of this body, on the Abolition-question, with the exception of a very small minority, has been entirely Christian, reflecting the true spirit of the religion they teach, and redeeming the clerical profession from the disgrace inflicted on it by their speechless brethren. Let us not be misunderstood. We deeply respect the clerical profession, much as we abhor the conduct of many who have assumed its garb; for we cannot forget that some of the most efficient agents in our enterprise are clergymen, and, in this part of the country, ministers are decidedly in advance of their churches on the question of slavery.

CHURCH ACTION.—At the late session of the Cincinnati Presbytery in Batavia, a licentiate applied for dismission, that he might place himself under the care of the St. Louis Presbytery. It was refused for two reasons, one of which was as follows:—

"Because, it is inconsistent with Christian character for a licentiate to put himself under the care of a Presbytery that tolerates within its jurisdiction the sin of slave-holding."

What a tremendous rebuke! How long would slavery stand in the church, if the churches of the free states were all equally decided in their action against it.

MR. BIRNEY IN CINCINNATI.

Last Tuesday evening, Mr. Birney delivered another lecture, to a peculiarly *select* audience. His subject was, the inadequacy of all schemes of gradual emancipation for the removal of slavery in the United States. Mr. Birney's argument was a path of light. It was demonstration. Never have we heard the doctrine of immediate emancipation established more triumphantly by reasoning. The lecture, we doubt not, was conclusive with many a sceptic.

We fear that the state of Mr. Birney's health, will prevent him from again lecturing in this place.

PAINESVILLE CONVENTION.

The report of the proceedings of this Convention is to be found in another column. The meeting was all its best friends anticipated. Mr. Butts thus writes respecting it.

Painesville, Sept. 12, 1839.

DEAR FRIEND BAILEY:

We have just closed our Convention after a session of two whole days. Although there was such a storm of wind and rain during the whole time, as we have not had before for over a year, yet there came out a goodly number of the active Abolitionists, men too of worth and influence from all parts of the Reserve. Tell us that Abolition is dying away, when its friends can come together from 50, 60 or 70 miles, "biding the pelting of the pitiless storm," and spend two whole days in devising means to promote its interests! Our meetings were certainly of more than ordinary interest, and taken altogether it has accomplished more for the slave than any thing we have had on the Reserve for years. The resolutions you will see are strong, but I think not too strong. The one in relation to ministers you may think uncalled for, but were you here, I am confident you would judge otherwise. There are many faithful men here who do remember the enslaved as bound with them, and many others who while they profess the principles of Abolition, never, from the beginning to the end of the year, say a word in their defence, or at least never teach their congregations their duty to the slave, as they do their other duties. There was a long discussion on the Resolution, before it was finally passed, in this shape, and there seemed to be but one impression; viz. that we ought to speak out, and let it be known that we consider the slave as at least entitled to a full portion of the minister's labors in his behalf.

The political Resolutions will meet your views entirely. There were several present who wished the passage of the Albany Resolution, but to the business committee it seemed that, that was too broad for sound policy or correct principle. Our Resolution affirms in the first place, that we will not vote for any individual for the legislative nor executive who has not a hearty opposition to slavery. By this it is not meant that the man must be an Abolitionist, but that whatever may be the man's opinion as to the best manner of getting rid of the evil, he must be honestly opposed to it. I do not see how there can be two opinions about the extent to which we should require those who offer for our suffrages, to go. Are they honest and capable, and will they do *all* that they constitutionally can, for the doing away of oppression? What more can we ask. There is no law called for by the Abolitionists of Ohio, but can be consistently sustained by a man who is not in favor of immediate emancipation, and if so, what is requiring an opinion on this point, but calling him out on a subject on which he cannot as a legislator act? No doubt we ought to prefer an immediateist, but not to make it a "*sine qua non*." The proceedings we intend to have extensively circulated, and if possible, to stir up Abolitionists to be consistent. I think the address well calculated to do it.

Mr. C. C. Burleigh was present at the Convention, and by his lucid exhibitions of correct prin-

ciple and his eloquent appeals added very much to the interest of the occasion.

I have to leave myself immediately, and have made arrangements to have this and a full copy of proceedings sent on to you as soon as possible. I have to attend county meetings for Ashtabula, Trumbull and Geauga counties next week, and shall send you a full report.

In behalf of the oppressed, yours truly,

L. D. BUTTS.

CANDIDATES.—In Ashtabula, Lorain, Medina and Trumbull counties, the candidates of the Whig party, so far as we can learn, are abolitionists. In Portage and Cuyahoga, the same party has put up such men as abolitionists can consistently vote for. Our correspondent on the Reserve informed us, that the Whig candidates in Geauga were fence-men. May be so. One of the candidates, however, for the lower house, voted on the right side of every test-question which came up during the last session, involving anti-slavery. We allude to Seabury Ford. We rejoice to see that abolitionists in Ashtabula and Geauga have acted like men. The free-souled Wade is again re-nominated for the Senate. The way in which such candidates have been secured, has been simple. Abolitionists have taken an active part in the doings of the party, to which they belonged, and avowed their determination, *seasonably*. The necessity of questioning in the counties named has thus been avoided.

CLERMONT COUNTY.—Col. Utter and T. J. Buchanan, are renominated this year by the Democratic party in Clermont county, the former for the Senate, the latter for the lower House. Their prospects of re-election are considerably jeoparded by an opposition ticket. These men of Black Law-memory have been busy in holding meetings, and explaining to their fellow-citizens their past course, "especially on the fugitive law passed at the last session." They are anxious to convince the people, that, after all, this law is in fact better for the slave, than former ones, and that those who compassionate the "wanderer," need apprehend nothing from its penalties!

NOTICE.

A District Convention will be held, Wednesday the 16th of October, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., in the neighborhood of Hanover, Jefferson co., (Ia.) for the purpose of organizing a County Society. The lecturing agents and all others friendly to the cause, are invited to attend, as subjects of great interest will be discussed.

JUNO.

CLEVELAND MEETING.

Don't forget the Cleveland Meeting on the 23d of October. It is the first meeting of the Parent society in this state; let it be well attended. We hope those societies that have not appointed delegates will appoint them immediately. The Portage county society has commissioned thirty delegates. Mr. Morris and Mr. Boyle from this city, it is expected, will be present. There will be also a considerable representation from New York city, including Mr. Birney who is now in Cincinnati.

THE CAPTURED AFRICANS.

The Circuit Court at Hartford dicided on the 20th Sept., that it had no jurisdiction with regard to the *criminal* charge against the Africans of the Amistad. The following is an extract from the report of the trial.

"Judge Thompson addressed the jury at some length, and stated distinctly that with regard to the criminal charge against the prisoners, although he would offer no opinion whether they had or had not committed any crime, he must state that neither the court nor any other court of the United States, nor the grand jury, had any jurisdiction.—The Amistad, he said, had been a Spanish coasting vessel, and a crime committed on board of her was the same, with regard to jurisdiction, as if the crime had been committed on the island of Cuba. In order to give a court of the United States jurisdiction, the crime alleged must be against some law of the United States, or the laws of nations.—This is not a new question. The Supreme Court of the United States has determined that they have no jurisdiction over offences committed aboard foreign vessels. The courts of one country will not execute the penal laws of another country.—The vessel is a part of the foreign territorial jurisdiction. The judge here referred to the case of the U. S. *vs.* Palmer. Could the case in hand be considered as an offence against the laws of nations, it would be otherwise. But in this case, if it should turn out that the offence had been committed, this court has no jurisdiction. The jury therefore cannot find an indictment. The grand and petty juries, having no other business, were therefore discharged. The bills of indictment, therefore, prepared with great care, by the District Attorney, and laid before the grand jury, charging Jingua with murder, and some of his comrades with piracy, &c., are *ignored*."

The prisoners having been brought before the court on a writ of Habeas Corpus, Judge Thompson, on the 23d, gave his final decision, that the circuit court could not discharge them under said writ. We subjoin a copy of the decision.

DECISION OF JUDGE THOMPSON.

On the opening of the Circuit Court, Monday Sept. 23d, Judge Thompson gave his decision with respect to the application of the prisoners' counsel, to have the Africans discharged under the writ of habeas corpus—and denied the motion.—He said the question before the Court was simply as to the jurisdiction of the District Court over this subject matter. He regretted that the case had not been held up for further consideration, and that he had so little opportunity to examine the various important questions that are involved in it, with that thoroughness and deliberation that was desirable. He regretted this the more, as the case is a very peculiar and complicated one. It was one also difficult to be understood by the public. He could not be insensible to the fact that the feelings of the community were deeply involved in the question, and he found there might be misapprehensions of the real questions to be disposed of by the Court. It is possible, he said, that there may be some misapprehension. He would therefore have preferred that time should have been allowed for him to give a correcter opinion. But as the counsel have thought it advisable, he did not say it was not excusable, to call upon the Court to dispose of the case now, he was compelled, though much against his wishes, to dispose of it in the best way he could.

The question to be decided now is not as to the ultimate rights of either party,—but it is whether the District Court can take cognizance of the subject matter that grows out of this case. In order to ascertain this, we must recur to the laws of the United States. The case has been placed before the Court on the abstract question. It is sufficient to say that the Constitution of the United States, although the term slavery is not used, and the laws of the United States do recognize the right of one man to have the control of the labor of another man. The laws of the country are founded upon this principle. They recognize this kind of right. Whatever private motives the Court may have, or whatever may be their feelings, on this subject, they are not to be brought into view in deciding upon this question. They must give the same construction to the laws of the land, sitting in this State, as they would were they sitting in Virginia. It is the province and the duty of the court to determine what the laws are, and not what it might be desirable they should be. My feelings, said Judge Thompson, are personally as abhorrent to the system of slavery, as those of any man here, but I must on my oath, pronounce what the laws are on this subject. The true question then is as to the law, and not as to any of the questions involved in the case. The simple question to determine is as to the right of the District Court of Connecticut to take cognizance of the matter.

Under the laws of the United States all seizures in a District are to be taken notice of in that District when the seizures are made. The important question is always as to the place of seizures, and the question always turns upon that; if a seizure is made within the limits of a State the jurisdiction of the District Court is local. If it is made on the high seas, in any District Court may take recognizance of the matter. Where then was the seizure made in this case? It seems to be agreed by the counsel on both sides that the seizure was actually made in the District of New York. If that be the case this District Court has no jurisdiction of it whatever. But if the seizure was in fact made on the high seas this District Court has jurisdiction. Judge T. said he had supposed, at first, that that the seizure was in fact made in the District of New York, but when he came to examine the matters he found it was not so. Lieut. Gedney, in his libel, states no such thing. He says he was on a survey within the State of New York, but he does not say that he actually discovered the schooner Amistad within that District, and that he made the seizure within the District of New York. All the evidence before the court is what is asserted in the libel. The vessel, it seems, was taken off Montauk Point. The Grand Jury, in their statement, say, it was a mile distant from the shore. If this be correct, it was a seizure upon the high seas, and therefore the matter is rightfully before the Court for this District.

In the absence of absolute certainty on the case, the court has endeavored to ascertain, from the best evidence in their reach, by examining maps and charts, the locality of the place; and after making such an examination, they are of opinion that the actual place of seizure does not appear to be within the jurisdiction of the District Court of N. York, but upon the high seas. The Admiralty jurisdiction upon the ocean extends to low water mark.—Between high and low water mark there is alternate jurisdiction between the admiralty and common law courts. In deciding, then, that the seizure was made in the judgment of the court, upon the high seas,—if either party is dissatisfied, the court can institute inquiry to ascertain the exact place, but the more regular course is for the party dissatisfied to interpose a plea to the jurisdiction of the courth, and then the District Court must institute an inquiry to ascertain where the seizure was made. It is not competent then for this court, at the present time, to say the District Court has no jurisdiction in the case. Consequently this court cannot now pass decision upon the question as to the property—that matter belongs to the District Court. Should either party be dissatisfied with the decision of that court, an appeal can be taken to the Circuit Court, and afterwards to the Supreme Court of the United States. Meantime the parties must be put to their pleas in the District Court, in order that all the facts, &c. may be put upon record.

It has been said that this is a question of LIBERTY, and therefore that this court ought to decide the case in a summary and prompt manner. But in the judgment of the court, this ought to have no influence in the decision. The situation of the prisoners is such that they must be taken care of by somebody. They did not come here voluntarily. It is not the case therefore of persons coming here of their own accord, and being taken up by other persons against their will. If the District Court has jurisdiction of the schooner, they have jurisdiction of the persons of these Africans, and they are bound to provide necessaries for them. They can provide for them as well as any other persons. The case seems to have been argued on the part of the prisoners as if they ought to be discharged, if the court had no jurisdiction. This is not so. If it should be decided that the District Court here has no jurisdiction, they can decide also that the cause be submitted to the District Court of New York. The court would, in that case, send the vessel and cargo, and every thing appertaining, to that court. The prisoners would not be discharged, but sent also to the District Court of New York. No benefit would arise to them in being removed from this to another District. It is therefore a matter of no consequence to the prisoners, whether the question is tried here or in the District of New York.

It has been said that the subsequent proceedings in filing these libels and claims here, were without authority. But if the case is within the jurisdiction of this Court, the proceedings may be irregular.—If there is any irregularity, it can be corrected by filing a new libel, the case being in the possession of the District Court; however, it is bound to receive claims of any body. This Court cannot decide whether these Spaniards have a right to these persons, or whether they should be put in the possession of the President of the U. States. These questions are not now regularly before the court.—They must come up hereafter, and the court must dispose of them. The courts of the U. S. have taken cognizance of cases analogous to this. The question of jurisdiction is a preliminary question, and the court should not decide questions of abstract right. The courts of the United States have taken cognizance of cases, where foreigners claimed the persons of slaves; but this is the first instance where a writ of habeas corpus has been applied for, and therefore there are no items that throw light upon the subject. It has never been made a question whether they were instantly free on being brought into the United States. The case of the Antelope is directly in point. The Spanish and Portuguese consuls claimed these subjects as property—the court said they must show their title.

There may be an impression here, that because slavery is not tolerated in Connecticut, that the right of these Spaniards should not be investigated. The court, however, must be governed by the laws of the United States, and not by the laws of the state of Connecticut. Our form of government recognized the right to import slaves up to the year 1808. It is true the Constitution does not use that language, but it recognizes the right to a certain period, and declares that till then it was a lawful importation. The Constitution also provides for the recovery of persons who may escape from one state into another, where service is due. It goes even beyond this, and interdicts the states from passing laws that oppose claimants from taking fugitive persons in the free states. Should any state pass such laws, they would be absolutely void.—We must look at things as they are. The court feel bound, therefore, to say, that *there is no ground upon which they can entertain the motion under the writ of habeas corpus.*

The fear that some misapprehension exists in the public mind as to the effect and ground on which the case had been disposed of by the Grand Jury, upon the directions of the court. The question now disposed of has not been affected by what previously took place. The only matter settled previously was, that there had been no criminal offence cognizable by the courts of the United States. If the offence of murder has been committed on board a foreign vessel with a foreign crew, and with foreign papers, this is not an offence against the laws of ths United States. It is an offence against the laws of the country to which the vessel belonged. The courts of the United States have, in such cases, no jurisdiction—but if the offence be against the laws of nations, this court would have jurisdiction. A murder committed, as in the case of the captain of the Amistad, is not a crime against the laws of nations—were the crime piracy even, it would not be a crime against the laws of nations, connected as it is with the slave-trade.

The court said that as they perceived there were note-takers present, they hoped they would be careful to make a true representation of the decision. The court does not undertake to decide that these parties have no right to their freedom, but leave that matter in litigation in the District Court, subject to appeal. And for reasons assigned, *deny this motion.*

One of the counsel for the prisoners then asked the court if they meant to express the opinion that a foreigner coming here with a slave can call upon the U. S. courts to enforce the claim of the foreigner to the slave. Judge Starkson, in reply, said he did not wish to decide now upon the district question. As a judge, he did not feel called upon to decide it. The court was then adjourned, *sine die.*

The District Court was opened. The judge said he should direct that the U. S. Attorney should repair to Montauk Point, in the Revenue Cutter, with a gentleman on the other side, to investigate the facts, ascertain where the seizure was actually made, &c.: that the court would be adjourned to meet in this city on the third Tuesday in November next. And that in the mean time it would be the duty of the Marshall to see that the prisoners were comfortably situated, and provided with clothes suited to the season, that they had prepared sufficient food, medical attendance, &c. The court would, it is presumed, allow the prisoners to be discharged on giving bail, but as it must be an *appraisement*, their counsel would not consent to it. The prisoners will probably be remanded to the jail in New Haven.

KIDNAPPING.—Two men, citizens of Massachusetts, named, *Perley Shearer* and *Dickerson Shearer*, not long since kidnapped a colored lad in Worcester, and carried him to Virginia. Dickerson Shearer, arriving at Fredericksburg, passed the boy as his slave, and sold him, it is feared, to a trader. His story was so absurd, as to create suspicion and lead to his arrest, as a kidnapper; and the mayor of Fredericksburg immediately wrote to the Postmaster at Worcester, making inquiries respecting Shearer's statement. His letter concludes as follows.

"All that humanity requires will be done here to recover the unfortunate boy. A messenger will be despatched to-night in pursuit, and the constituted authorities invoked to aid him. This man is in custody, but cannot be long detained without evidence. You will therefore reply by return of mail, and let the statements be made on oath, and let the person to identify be sent immediately. I am sir, respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN CLARK, *Mayor*."

Two messengers have accordingly been despatched from Worcester to Fredericksburg. It is to be hoped that the boy may be recovered, and the villain duly punished. The penalty in Virginia for kidnapping is death by hanging; in Massachusetts not so severe.

The Mayor of Fredericksburg has acted in a manner highly creditable to his humanity.

EFFECTS OF SLAVERY.—We cut the following from an exchange paper.

☞ "A late census of the white population of South Carolina shows an increase of only 6,236, within the last ten years, which, remarks the Charleston Courier, is perhaps more than was to have been expected, considering the exhausting progress of emigration to which we have been subject for the last ten yeas."

Such is the effect of slavery. Kentucky is suffering greatly from the same kind of emigration.—The Frankfort Commonwealth says:—

"In a short visit to the country, we were charmed with the beauty of the fields, woods and pastures, and the countless comforts with which this goodly land abounds. It seemed to us that if there was in the whole earth a region wherein man might pitch his tent and feel no more the desire of change, that country was the Elkhorn region. But even here, where all that can gratify the eye, please the taste or cheer the heart has been concentrated, the restless spirit of emigration prevails. The roads are filled with movers who are going to the West with the hope of adding thereby to their sum of happiness. Thousands on thousands are journeying to the frontiers of Missouri, taking with them their cattle, and herds, and money, prepared to make new homes in what is now comparatively a wilderness. The emigration this year is of the very bone and marrow of our land, and will be hailed in Missouri as a grand acquisition to her power and resources. Seemingly it is so, but in reality it is sapping the very foundations of her prosperity."

The Commonwealth traces clearly enough the process by which this evil is to result.

The Kentuckians who go out this fall, and have been going for several years past, are what are called full handed men. They go from the grazing and agricultural districts of the State, and one of their chief causes for emigrating is, that they may have larger farms. They sell out their farms here for various prices—ranging between fifty and one hundred dollars per acre, and all this is to be invested in new lands at $1,25 cts. per acre. The resnlt is, that the man who only owned a hundred acres in Kentucky, becomes the proprietor of thousands in Missouri, and not many years will elapse before that State will be occupied by the largest landed proprietors in the Union. A few families will own entire counties. The consequence will be, a sparse population—overgrown fortunes—national weakness. Missouri in her turn will mourn her depopulated regions, and feel, in all its bitterness, the patriotic lamentation of the Irish bard—

"Princes or Lords may flourish or may fade—
A breath can make them as a breath has made.
But a bold peasantry—their country's pride,
When once destroyed can never be supplied."

These ills will probably last for a century—at least until there is a reflux from the Pacific ocean—the only boundary to Western emigration.—The Territories to the North of Missouri have better prospects; for the emigration to them comes from the great workshop of nations whose habit it is to fill the hive with honey before the new swarms are driven out—they people as they go.

"These ills will last" no longer, than their parent,—*slavery.*

From Portage co. A. S. S. Circular.

If this circular falls into the hands of the officer of a towhship Anti-Slavery Society, or into the hands of a private member, in either case it is hoped that he will immediately take measures to have his society become auxiliary to the county Society, and forthwith forward a report to the corresponding Secretary.

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE SLAVE IN PORTAGE COUNTY.

In the name of suffering humanity we appeal to you—in the name of the God of the poor and the oppressed, we entreat you, reader, be you male or female, to put forth at once a decided effort for the poor slave. You profess to feel for your suffering kind, as bound with them. You profess to have your heart's best feelings stirred in behalf of husbands and wives, fathers and mothers, and their helpless offspring, whose groans and cries are rising every hour to Heaven—and will you not put forth an effort in their behalf?—What are your professions, your sympathies worth, without decisive, substantial action? The cause of the poor slave languishes criminally, censurably in this county. If no more is done elsewhere than is here done, he must remain in his bonds forever. This should not, must not be so. Read, we entreat you, our annual report, contained in this circular, and apply yourself at once to the work.—See that a township, or school district Circulating Library, or both, are speedily provided for. Act for the poor slave, as you would have him act, were you in his stead—act for him, so that upon your dying bed you can look upon what you have done with joy. Use the means and the ability which a good and all-wise God has given you, to promote this glorious enterprise, which has such decided claims upon christian philanthropy and benevolence, and He will still farther bless you in basket and in store.

We hope and trust that this appeal will not be in vain. *Act*, and ACT NOW. A crisis in the Anti-Slavery movement has arrived—to relax now, loses all—to persevere a little longer, secures the success of the enterprise—the oppressed shall go free—millions shall be brought into the glorious liberty of the gospel—God's name shall be glorified—and our beloved country saved from dreadful and impending judgments.

Individual effort is needed—all can do something—reader, you can do something either by your means as God has blessed you, or by personal effort, or by both—we trust you *will* do something, and the beneficial results of your labors and efforts will not only be felt now, but they will be known in eternity, where we must soon meet at God's bar, these poor objects of our sympathy. *Act*, ACT, ACT, while the day lasts, for soon the night cometh, when no man can work.

In co-operating efforts and in prayer, we commend your labors for the slave.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.—This publication languishes for want of support. This is wrong, it is an able and worthy co-laborer in the cause, and ought to be supported. It is worthy of the confidence and support of all. We cannot think it advisable to start a new paper in Cleveland, as is projected, while those which we already have, languish for want of support. Immediate efforts ought to be made on the part of abolitionists, and anti-slavery societies, to extend the circulation of the Philanthropist. This will be one important means of helping on the work. Will not some active individual in every township take hold of this matter?—*Ib.*

ANTI-SLAVERY ALMANAC.—It is hoped that every township society will take immediate measures to introduce the Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1840, and make an effort to supply every family with a copy. Great good may thus be done.—Price $3 50 per hundred, $30 per thousand.—*Ib.*

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PORTAGE CO. A. S. SOCIETY.

Tuesday, Sept. 10, 1839.
Half past 10 o'clock, A. M.

Pursuant to notice the annual meeting of the Portage County Anti-Slavery Society convened at Ravenna. The meeting being called to order by the President, was opened with prayer by the Rev. S. W. Burrett, of Franklin.

On motion, a committee on business was appointed, consisting of A. Nash, G. Keen, T. E. Bottsford, S. Johnson, and H. L. Carter.

On motion, a committee to nominate a list of officers for the year ensuing was appointed, consisting of C. R. Clark, C. Clapp, H. Case, S. W. Burritt and T. Carnalian.

On motion,

Resolved, That THIRTY DELEGATES be appointed to attend the special meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which is to be held in Cleveland, Oct. 23, 1839.

On motion, adjourned to 1 o'clock, P. M.

1 *o'clock, P. M.*

Met pursuant to adjournment. Meeting opened with prayer.

The fifth annual report of the Portage co. A. Society, was read and adopted as follows.

[The Annual Report will be published in our next.—ED. PHIL.]

The committee on nominations made their report, which was adopted, as follows:—

EDWIN WETMORE, *President.*

S. Johnson, A. L. Spencer, S. W. Burritt, S. Foljambe, G. Keene, } *Vice Presidents,*

Lyman W. Hall, *Corresponding Secretary.*
C. R. Clark, *Recording Secretary.*
C. Clapp, *Treasurer.*

The committee on business reported a series of resolutions, which, after considerable discussion, and many interesting remarks, were adopted, as follows.

Resolved, That the degaaded and suffering slaves in this land, call more loudly at the present time for the sympathies and efforts of the benevolent, than any other class of our fellow men.

Resolved, That as abolitionists, at every period of our General Assembly, and the meeting of Congress, we will reiterate again and again the great object of our enterprise; the deliverance of the American slave, and the eradication of the prejudice that withers and crushes the free man of color in America.

Resolved, That as abolitionists, we deem any candidate for office to either branch of our state legislature, unworthy of our support, who is not in favor of equal and constitutional rights, and who, if elected to office, will not do all in his power to procure the passage of a law making the colored man a competent witness in any court of justice, and also securing to him the right of jury trial in all cases where personal liberty is involved, and also a repeal of the odious black law, so called, passed at the last General Assembly of Ohio.

Resolved, That it is the imperative duty of abolitionists to give a vigorous and ample support to those papers and periodicals which have been established to defend the cause of the slave and of human freedom; and that those in our ranks who do nothing to sustain those faithful sentinels on the watch-tower of liberty, show themselves indifferent to the cause of the slave, and recreant to their high trust as abolitionists.

Resolved, That we cordially respond to the recommendation by the Christian friends of the slave at the late National Convention, to spend the last Friday of September as a season of fasting and prayer; and that we invite all professing Christians and friends of humanity in this state to observe this day, and unite their fervent supplications to Almighty God, that the prayer of the oppressed may be answered, and that they may be speedily and peacefully emancipated.

The following named individuals were appointed delegates to attend the special meeting of ,he American Society in Cleveland, in October next.

Portage, David Bruno and Ansel Miller.
Northampton, Peter Voris, jr.
Boston, Lewis M. Janes.
Northfield, Samuel Coon.
Springfield, Solomon Purdy.
Tallmadge, Jonathan F. Fenn.
Stow, Edwin Wetmore.
Hudson, C. R. Hamlin.
Twinsburg, Augustus E. Foote.
Suffield, James Cent.
Brimfield, H. L. Carter.
Franklin, Charles Clapp.
Streetsborough, Jerry M. Case.
Aurora, Martin Eggleston.
Randolph, Monson Dickinson.
Rootstown, Horace Case.
Ravenna, S. Foljambe, S. Johnson, and Wm. Frazer.
Mantua, —— Converse.
Atwater, S. H. Whittlesey.
Edinburgh, G. Keene.
Charlestown, R. Loomis.
Freedom, William Porter.
Hiram, Zeb Rudolph.
Deerfield, Harvey Laughlin.
Paris, Joel Dorman.
Windham, Isaac M. Clark.
Nelson, Stephen Baldwin.

On motion,

Resolved, That all the Township Anti-Slavery Societies in the county be requested to send delegates to the special meeting of the American Society at Cleveland.

On motion,

Resolved, That the annual report and proceedings of this meeting be published in the papers of this county, in the Cleveland Observer, and Cincinnati Philanthropist.

Adjourned without day.

LYMAN W. HALL, *President.*

C. R. CLARK, SAMUEL JOHNSON, } *Secretaries.*

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

Pursuant to a public call, issued in compliance with a resolution passed at the last annual meeting of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society, a Convention of citizens of the Western Reserve, assembled on Wednesday, September 11th, 1839, in Painesville, Geauga County, Ohio.

The Convention was organized by the appointment of the following officers:

Gen. JAMES H. PAINE, of Painesville, *President.*

E. N. HOUSE, of Ashtabula Co., Dr. O. K. HAWLEY, of Ash. Co. ASA CADY, of Cuyahoga Co. } *V. Pres.*

JOHN CURTIS, of Painesville, and WM. H. PRICE, *Secretaries.*

Prayer was offered to God for his aid and favor, by Prof. James A. Thome, of Oberlin.

Ninety-two gentlemen from Ashtabula, Geauga, Cuyahoga, Lorain, Portage, and Trumbull counties, gave in their names as members of the Convention. Also gentlemen. from other parts of the State, and United States, by invitation, took seats in the Convention.

A committee having been appointed to prepare business for the Convention, that committee reported in substance, Resolutions, Nos. 1, 2, 3 & 4. Among others Mr. C. C. BURLEIGH, of Philadelphia, addressed the Convention in the most eloquent and impressive manner, in support of the resolutions—especially, Nos. 1 and 2, which were unanimously adopted by the Convention. [9 o'clock, the Convention adjourned till 8 o'clock to morrow morning.]

The Convention met at 8 o'clock, A. M., Thursday, Sept. 12th. The Business Committee reported in substance, Resolutions Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14, which with Nos. 3 and 4 were unanimously adopted by the Convention, after a protracted and thorough discussion.

Under resolution No. 8, the following gentlemen were appointed a Central Committee of Northern Ohio, to perform the duties designated by that Resolution:

James H. Paine, Painesville, Geauga Co.,
John H. Matthews, " "
John Curtis, " "
Silas Pepoon, " "
Aaron Wilcox, " "
Woolsey Wells, Cleveland, Cuyahoga co.
Philemon Bliss, Elyria, Lorain co.
Milton Sutliff, Warren, Trumbull co.
Flavel Sutliff, Jefferson, Ashtabula co.
Charles R. Hamlin, Hudson, Portage co.
John Codding, Granger, Medina co.

The Committee appointed to prepare an Address to the citizens of the Western Reserve on political action, by their chairman John Curtis, reported an Address which was read and unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. *Resolved*, That as Slavery is utterly incompatible with the universal prevalence of genuine Christianity: as it is a breach of moral right, and a high-handed sin against God and man, being in the language of John Wesley, the sum of all villanies; as it is the height of legal wrong, and source of infinite political evil; therefore, all men are bound to oppose it not only by their private influence, but in every public capacity, whether civil or religious, in which they are called and feel willing to act.

2. *Resolved*, That we consider the obnoxious act called the "Black Law," as totally at variance with the genius and spirit of Christianity, and meriting the abhorrence and opposition of all who choose to obey God rather than men.

3. *Resolved*, That the people of the North are individually guilty for their reluctance to advocate the rights of the slave; and the support, which, in various ways they have given to the system of American Slavery.

4. *Resolved*, That abolitionists ought not, and that WE WILL NOT VOTE for any man for any Legislative or Executive office, who is not heartily opposed to Slavery and who will not openly meet and honestly sustain all constitutional measures calculated immediately to restore to the oppressed their rights.

6. *Resolved*, That we recommend to the County Societies in the Northern part of Ohio, to question all candidates before them for the Legislature of this State, as to their opinion and proposed action, 1st, in relation to all laws founded on distinction of color, 2ndly, in relation to the "Black Law," 3dly, as to the use of state influence to prevent the encroachments of Slavery upon our national rights, and 4thly, whether they will vote to request our Senators and Representatives in Congress to use their influence for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and for preventing the admission of any new slaveholding states, and for prohibiting the traffic in Slaves between the states.

6. *Resolved*, That in the exercise of our privileges as electors, we should be governed by the whole moral principles of the candidates, as constituting fitness for office; and that the selection of any one principle as a test, regardless of other qualities, would be unjust to ourselves and the public.

7. *Resolved*, That a standing Central Committee for Northern Ohio be appointed, of whom 3 shall be a quorum, whose duty it shall be to take measures, if by them thought expedient, for the establishment of a paper on the Western Reserve, devoted to the dissemination of our principles—to propose measures to the County Societies for the general advancement of the Anti-Slavery cause, and to provide for the publication of circulars and addresses.

8. *Resolved*, That we earnestly recommend that meetings be held by Township Societies, forthwith, to secure unanimity of sentiment, and united and vigorous action at the coming election—that the County Societies be requested to use their influence to secure this end; and that all, both as societies and individuals, be invited to forward the interests of the Paper, should one be established.

9. *Resolved*, That it is expedient that committees be appointed in each township without delay, to continue the circulation of petitions in general, and especially a petition to our next Legislature, for the repeal of the odious and abominable "Black Law" of last winter.

10. Whereas ignorance of facts in regard to Slavery, is the great obstacle in the way of the success of the Anti-Slavery cause, therefore, *Resolved*, That Anti-Slavery Libraries, as they may now be easily obtained, ought to be established in every township, and if possible, in every school district; and that we earnestly recommend that all County and Township Societies take measures without delay to carry into effect this measure.

11. *Resolved*, That we deem the conduct of those ministers of the Gospel, who profess the principles of Abolitionism, and yet refuse to exert their official influence in behalf of the Slave, as manifesting an inconsistency between profession and practice, unworthy of a minister of that religion which makes it his first duty to declare the whole counsel of God whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear.

12. *Resolved*, That as too much dependence cannot be placed in prayer to Almighty God, we especially recommend to the friends of the Slave, the observance of the Anti-Slavery Concert of Prayer.

13. *Resolved*, That whereas the efforts of Abolitionists have succeeded beyond their most sanguine expectations, we, therefore, render our public and heartfelt thanks to Him who is the Counsellor and Helper of every good work, for directing and upholding our cause, and making it instrumental throughout the world, in achieving such glorious results; and trusting in him as our strength, we feel encouraged thereby to redouble our efforts.

14. *Resolved*, That the Proceedings and Address of this Convention be published in the Painesville Telegraph, the Painesville Republican, and the Philanthropist, and that every Editor of a Political or Religious newspaper on the Western Reserve, who wishes to give his readers a faithful history of passing events, or is desirous of subserving the great principles of the "Declaration of Independence" be respectfully requested to give the same an insertion in his columns.

The Convention, at a late hour, adjourned *sine die;* and the members separated with the highest confidence in the justness and strength of their cause, and their determination to give effect to the sentiments and measures of the Convention, embodied in its Resolutions.

JOHN CURTIS, WM. H. PRICE, } *Secretaries.*

American Free Produce Association.

The first annual meeting of the American Free Produce Association, will be held in Philadelphia on the 15th of the Tenth month (October.) Societies auxiliary to this are requested to send large delegations and the friends of the cause generally are invited to attend. On behalf of the Executive Committee.

ABM. L. PENNOCK, *Chairman.*

DANL. L. MILLER, Jr. *Sec'y.*

Anti-Slavery papers, and others friendly to the object are requested to insert the above notice.

"Oberlin—Perfectionism—Abolition."

There are so many errors and omissions in this article as it appears on the last page of this paper, that I do not wish to be considered the author of any but the last paragraph. This is no fault of the editor, who relied on me to examine the proof, which unhappily, I did not obtain. There is one whole paragraph omitted which contained what I conceive to be the fundamental principle of the Oberlin views of the doctrine of sanctification. J. BLANCHARD.

RECEIPTS.

PLEDGES AND DONATIONS.

Per G. Bailey, jr. on pledge of Cincinnati A. S. Soc. C. Fisher $20,00, A. W. Bentley 5,00, James Scott 2,50, A. Kellogg 2,50. Per L. D. Butts some time since, Fayette county A. S. Society 40,00, Worthington A. S. Society 7,00, Bricksville A. S. Soc. 2,12. Jefferson A. S. Society 10,00 Ashtabula co. A. S. Soc. 24,86, Austinburg A. S. Soc. 12.19, Ohio city A. S. Soc. 1,50, Euclid A. S. Society 1,60, Asa Cady individual pledge 25,00, Middlebury (or, *burg*) A. S. Soc. 4,11, Brooklin A S. Soc. 2,00, James Steele on Oberlin pledge 5,00, Geneva A. S. Society 2,32, Hartford A. S. Soc. on pledge of 1838 6,75, Dr. O. K. Hawley, on pledge of 1838 25,00, Dr. O. K. Hawley for gen. fund 5,00, Grand River Institute A. S. Society, on pledge of 1838 10,00 Geauga co. Ladies A. S. Society for colored schools 8,00; Sylvanus M. Bagley Ky. 17,50; Rev. T. E. Thomas 3,00, Thomas Lee Esq. 3.00, Colonel Robt. Stewart and family 30,00. Per James Boyle, Agent, for Green co. A. S. Society 25.00, Clinton co. A. S. Soc. 23,50; Heman Ferris 3,00; James Hend Esq. 2,00; Moses Burgess 2,50; Jacob Nees Esq. 2,00; Elizabeth Wileman, 1.50; Candace B. Kirk, 1,00; Rachael Warton 50 cts.; Flushing A. S. Society 15,00; New Richmond A. S. Soc. on pledge 10,00; Sardinia A. S. Soc. on pledge of 1838 9.00; Sardinia do. do. on pledge of 1839 20,00; Rev. Wm. Chaffee 5,00; per G. Bailey of G. R. Smith 3,00.

WM. DONALDSON, *Treasurer.*

FOR PHILANTHROPIST.

From September 1st to October 1st.

E. M. Lewis $3,00; David Ashby 2,50; Rev. A. W. Poage 2,50; George Evans, 50 cts.; Brown & Canby 1,00; John Dingee 5,00; Jonah Farquhar 2,50; Wm. Davidson 2,50; Samuel Paul 5,00; Samuel P. Johnson 2,50; Alexander Work 2,50; David Mitchell 2,50; Kersey Grave 2,50; Samuel Cope 2,50; Edward T. Preston 2,50; Lucian C. Ford 2,50. From D. Putnam jr. Agent, 29,50, viz., for Samuel P. Hildreth jr. 2,50, Rev. Bennett Roberts 2,50, Rev. Samuel P. Dunham 4,50, Jesse Lawton 2,50, Henry Temple 2,50, Thomas Ridgway 2,50, Ephraim Gould 5,00, Charles Hendrie 2,50, Thomas B. Wickham 2,50, Joseph Hodgman, 2,50; L. has paid Dr. P's. order in full, $42,00. Dr. T. S. Towler, 2,50; John Green 2,50; per J. Heaton $10.00, viz. for David Heaton, 2,50, Joseph Fry 2,50, Cornelius Duease 2,50. The $10,00 for the four subscribers was received and credited to them. From Alonzo Bailey Agent 42,06, viz. for Baldwin & Austin 50 cts, Lorenzo Fitch 50 cts. S. N. Hoyt 2.50 J. & Kellogg 250; Brooks & Carpenter 2,50, Uriel Holcomb 2,50, Gardner & Branch 1,25, Stickney & Branch 1,25, Ingraham & Ganyard 1,50, A. Pickett 50 cts, A. S. Collins 50, cts. (or 1,50) (How do you make $18,50 of the above?) W. H. Henderson 2.00, Dr. O. K. Hawley 2,50, John Watson 4.00, A. Conyne 2,50, N. D. Billings, 5,00, A. Haynes 5,00 Salisbury and Penfield 1,25, Walker & Munger 31 cts. E. E. Hewsted 2,50. [Where will a letter find A. Bailey?] From L. D. Butts Agent, $26; 75, viz. for Dr. Jas. Dascomb 5,00, Ezekiel Adams 2,50, Asa Cady 2,50, Garrett Thorp 2,50, (Mr. Towes 50 more to No. 180) J. McIlrath 1,25, H. H. Cort 2,50, Edmund Clark 2,50, John Dickinson 2,50, Cyrus A. Stowell 3,00, Oliver Mills 2,50; [Where will a letter find L. D. Butts?] Per Dr. M. Wilson $8,00, viz, for Alexander Kerr 3,00, Wm. Sharp 2,50, Dr. M. Wilson 2,50; Robert Hanna has paid to No. 208, Thomas Lee to No. 208, John Olmstead to No. 222; Edward Small to No. 222. Per. Wm. Dearlove Agent 34,25 viz. for Jacob Janney 3,00, Wm. Heald 2,75, John Dixon 7,00, Salem A. S. Society 5,00, Brinton Darlington 5,00, Saml. Reynold 3,00, Warner & Ladd 2,00, S. Murphy 4,00, S. R. Spencer 2,50; Mrs. S. P. Drake 2,50; Joseph Lukens 2,50; Theophilus Watts 3,95; Moses Smith 105; Charles Clapp 2,50; Levi Colton 2,50. Per J. F. Garretson for Dr. W. W. Waters 2,50, [his paper is sent to Brownfield, not to Belmont;] Charles Dungan 2,50, Samuel Berry 2,50 Wm. Satherthevait 2,50; John Thornhill 2,50, J. B. Wallis 80 cts; J. H. Henderson 4,00; Miles W. Craig 2,50; David Steer 2,50; Frederick Collins 5,00; John W. Langdon 3,00; Dr. Isaac M. Beck 2,50; Wm. Kinney 2,50.

SAMUEL HALL, *Publishing Agent.*

POETRY.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

"TO THE POLLS."

BY SUSAN WILSON.

Father! in a happy home,
Smiling when thy children come,
Clustering around thy knee,
Wilt thou have those children free?
Have them, one day, firmly stand
On their "own," their "native land,"
Never for a single hour,
Helpless slaves of tyrant power;
Have the proffer'd gifts of heaven,—
Chainless hand, unbranded brow,—
Ever to thy loved ones given?
To the polls!—secure them now.

Husband! who each passing year
Provest thy chosen one more dear,
Think of many a deep-felt trial,
Uncompromising self-denial;
Torturing care in silence borne,
Smiles of love, forever warm;
All her warm heart's pure affection,—
Every claim on thy protection!
Be her breast to fear a stranger,
Though the threat'ning southron's come,
Guard her from approaching danger,
To the polls!—protect her home.

Brother, with a parent's care!
He who filled that vacant chair,
He who watched thy early years,
With a father's hopes and fears,
Left a sacred charge to thee,—
Blooming youth and infancy!
Guard that precious charge from wrong!
Threat'ning ills around them throng!
Though a dark'ning cloud is o'er thee,
Heed it not!—serenely bright
Is the narrow path before thee,
To the polls!—support the right.

Freemen! would you still be free!
As ye prize your liberty,
As you wish your sons may stand
With unfetter'd soul and hand;
As ye feel for those who've borne
Undeserved reproach and scorn:
As ye do not seek to find
Heavier chains the slave to bind;
As ye will not, lowly kneeling,
Bend your own necks to the chain,—
Oh! by every gen'rous feeling,
To the polls!—ne'er pause again.

From "Tait's Edinburgh Mag.," for July, 1839.

JEFFERSON'S DAUGHTER.

"It is asserted, on the authority of an American newspaper, that the daughter of Thomas Jefferson, late President of the United States, was sold at New Orleans for $1000.—*London Morning Chronicle.*

Can the blood that, at Lexington, pour'd o'er the plain,
When the sons warred with tyrants their rights to uphold;
Can the tide of Niagara wipe out the stain?
No! Jefferson's child has been barter'd for gold!

Do you boast of your freedom? Peace, babblers—be still!
Prate not of the goddess who scarce deigns to hear.
Have ye power to unbind!—Are ye wanting in will?
Must the groans of your bondmen still torture the ear?

The daughter of Jefferson sold for a slave!
The child of a freeman for dollars and francs!
The roar of applause, when your orators rave,
Is lost in the sound of her chain as it clanks.

Peace, then, ye blasphemers of Liberty's name!
Though red was the blood by your forefathers spilt,
Still redder your cheeks should be mantled with shame,
Till the spirit of freedom shall cancel the guilt.

But the brand of the slave is the tint of his skin,
Though his heart may beat loyal and true underneath;
While the soul of the tyrant is rotten within,
And his white the mere cloak to the blackness of death.

Are ye deaf to the plaints that each moment arise?
Is it thus ye forget the mild precepts of Penn,—
Unheeding the clamor that "maddens the skies,"
As ye trample the rights of your dark fellow-men?

When the incense that glows before Liberty's shrine,
Is unmix'd with the blood of the gall'd and oppress'd,—
Oh! then, and then only, the boast may be thine,
That the Stripes and Stars wave o'er a land of the blest!

ELIJAH PARISH LOVEJOY.

MURDERED AT ALTON, ILLINOIS, NOVEMBER 7, 1837.

Here rests, oh God! thy martyr! Men should give
Due honor to his ashes, as they tread
Over the grave of one whose actions shed
Lustre undying, fame not forgive,
On the proud name his children bear. He died,
Not as the traitor, whose base spirit yields,
For ease or safety, rights that God hath given,—
Not as the craven, who, for truth and heaven,
With doubtful heart the keen-edged weapon wields,
And from the field ingloriously is driven,—
By courage high his death was sanctified,
His deeds, by faith and prayer—and none hath striven
More nobly in a noble cause—therefore
Honor be his, and praise forevermore.

The following fragment is from Whittier's Moll Pitcher: there is vigor in the language, and affluence of imagery; but above all, it gushes over with the cherished love of the fair scenes of the author's youth—New England.

Land of the forest and the rock—
Of dark blue lake and mighty river—
Of mountains reared aloft to mock
My own green land, forever!
Land of the beautiful and brave—
The freeman's home—and martyr's grave—
The nursery of giant men,
Whose deeds have linked with every glen,
And every hill and every stream,
The romance of some warrior dream!
Oh! never may a son of thine
Where'er his wandering steps incline,
Forget the sky which bent above
His childhood like a dream of love—
The stream beneath the green hill flowing—
The broad armed trees above it growing—
The clear breeze through the foliage blowing,
Or hear, unmoved the taunt of scorn
Breath'd o'er the brave New England born,—
Or mark the stranger's jaguar hand
Disturb the ashes of thy dead—
The buried glory of a land
Whose soil with noble blood is red,
And sanctified in every part,
Nor feel resentment, like a brand
Unsheathing from his fiery heart!

Oh! greener hills may catch the sun
Beneath the glorious heaven of France;
And streams, rejoicing as they run
Like life beneath the day-beam's glance,
May wander where the orange bough
With golden fruit is bending low;
And there may bend a brighter sky
O'er green and classic Italy—
And pillared fame and ancient grave
Bear record of another time,
And over shaft and architrave
The green luxuriant ivy climb;
And far towards the rising sun
The palm may shake its leaves on high,
Where flowers are opening, one by one,
Like stars upon the twilight sky,
And breezes, soft as sighs of love,
Above the broad banana stray,
And through the Brahmin's sacred grove
A thousand bright-hue pinions play!
Yet, unto thee, New England, still
Thy wandering sons shall stretch their arms,
And thy rude chart of rock and hill
Seem dearer than the land of palms!
Thy massy oak and mountain pine
More welcome than the banyan's shade,
And every free, blue stream of thine,
Seem richer than the golden bed
Of oriental waves which glow
And sparkle with the wealth below!

MISCELLANEOUS.

For the Philanthropist.

Oberlin—Perfectionism—Abolition.

To the members of Presbyterian Churches in the South part of Ohio and Indiana with whom I am personally acquainted:—

DEAR BRETHREN,—To many of you I have expressed my belief that the views of "christian perfection" taught at Oberlin chiefly by brethren Finney and Mahan, were essentially erroneous, and to the extent of the Abolition influence of these brethren, must greatly prejudice our cause with all sound minded religious men in this state. I have lately passed a commencement week at Oberlin, and have obtained permission in the miscellaneous department of the Philanthropist, to give you the result of my observations, so far as they have any bearing on our cause.

After much conversation with students and professors, and attending on their meetings for social and public worship, my understanding of the Oberlin teachings on the subject of Christian Perfection, is for substance as follows:—They hold,

1st. That a man's character is a just object of praise and blame:—that nothing is praise or blame—worthy which is not voluntary:—that therefore, a man has no character except that which consists in his voluntary exercises. Because, say they, you justly praise or blame a man for his *character*, and it is clearly wrong to blame him for what is not voluntary, that is for what he cannot help.

2d. They hold that character is the subject of sanctification, and not the substance of the soul. That therefore, when a man's voluntary exercises or volitions are all in in harmony with the law of God, his character is perfectly holy, or he is "perfectly sanctified for the time being," that is, so long as his voluntary exercises perfectly accord with God's law.

3d. Character consisting in voluntary exercises, it follows that a man must infallibly know the instant when he becomes perfect, for the same man's consciousness acquaints him with all his volitions: that is, a man always knows what he wills: and, if his mind be unperverted, whether his purposes are selfish, or benevolent; sinful, or holy. But the mind of one perfectly sanctified, is under no sinful prejudice or selfish bias. Therefore a man must know when his voluntary exercises or his character accords with God's law. This last may be, in part, my deduction from their views: but some of the brethren understand them as I do. See Oberlin Evangelist No. 4. Remarks by the editor on a Communication by Prof. H. Cowles.

I, of course, differ from the Oberlin brethren in many of their views. Yet I say, and I know what I affirm when I say it; I would rather take the chance of seeing God's face in peace, of the weakest and most erroneous christian with whom I conversed at Oberlin, than of either one of that vast mass of professors in Cincinnati, ministers included, who maintain that the property-ownership of living women is not a sin demanding immediate repentance and renunciation. "If a man love not his brother whom he has seen, how can he love God whom he has not?" *Hate is the worst* error. It is the grand mistake of Hell!

There are some particulars respecting Oberlin, which some of you will be glad to learn.

They have four large and two smaller college buildings; all commodious, and when I was there, remarkably neat. I saw but one name or pencil mark on the walls of any room of any building; and that, President Mahan assured me, was the name of a young man, not of the Institution, written on a slip in the Chapel. The commencement seemed like one sweet and holy protracted meeting. In the examinations the classes sustained themselves unusually well. I particularly recollect the classes which read the Greek of Demosthenes, and the Hebrew Bible, and I know that they exhibited an acquaintance with those languages, not a whit inferior to the corresponding classes in Middlebury College and Andover Theol. Seminary, in both which Institutions I have been a student, and for both retain a tender and kind regard. But what strikes a stranger most on visiting Oberlin, is the simplicity of their confidence in Christ and the singleness of their fear of God. As at the Oneida Institute, the spirit of caste seems exterminated: and the bottom principle of the Gospel laid in the recognized brotherhood of mankind, or if there be a Gospel principle which lies deeper in the foundation of God's Living Temple, it is that childlike trust in Christ as the willing supplier of all our needs which, while I was there, seemed the pervading spirit of the place, and which, I can testify, sweetly reconciles the soul to its condition in this life, while, at the same time, it penetrates it with a willingness to enter on the next.

Very respectfully yours in the love of Christ.

J. BLANCHARD.

COL. PRESTON.—The northern papers have been blazoning the extraordinary liberality of Mr. Senator Preston, in giving $1000 to the Methodist cause, accompanied with something like a public speech in praise of Methodism. This attempt to foist into popularity with the religious public, the gentleman who declared in the United States Senate, that "if abolitionists were caught at the South they would be hanged, and that no government on earth could prevent it"—is very easily understood. But it turns out now, by the testimony of the Southern Christian Advocate, (as copied into the National Intelligencer,) that "*the story is fabricated*," being "*untrue in every particular*, except that Col. Preston did present himself among the contributors. His subscription was made in silence, except only his stating to the secretary, or some one by, the sum he wished to set down his name—*and which was* NOT $1000."

The number of slaves in the French colonies, according to the governmental returns in 1832, is as follows:

Martinique,	82,873
Guadaloupe,	99,464
French Guiana,	18,201
Senegal,	11,321
Bourbon,	70,458
Total,	282,317

EXTRAORDINARY CASE IN SURGERY.—A gentleman was taken into the hospital of Maine, in the year 1826, having attempted to commit suicide with a pen knife. Numerous wounds on the fore arm, neck and face, there were 22 others in front of the chest, two of which were particularly conspicuous on account of their size. He was admitted on the 19th of September and survived until the 23d. On examination after death three wounds of black blood, partly coagulated, were found in tho right side of the chest; and, on examining the heart, a paper scraper of ebony, with a straight handle, was found to be in its interior, supposed to have been forced in by the unhappy suicide, so that this poor wretch actually survived four days with an ebony paper scraper in his heart! Such a thing was possibly never before heard of.